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Trotskyists In Italy Organize Bolshevik Group

Exclusive Eye-Witness Account Describes Misery of Masses, Revolutionary Ferment

News from Italy of the most vital importance for the world labor movement was secured last week by The Militant. This is contained in an eye-witness account of the white-hot revolutionary situation in Italy and the abysmal misery of the Italian masses under Allied domination. Above all, this report gives direct confirmation of the organization and growth in numbers and influence of the Italian Trotskyists, adherents of the Fourth International. The writer of this first-hand report, published below, has many years standing in the socialist movement. This is the first complete account of developments in Italy to come from revolutionary socialist sources.

* * *

By Arthur Robinson

A year ago, when I visited Naples after the Allied armies had entered it, "Democracy" appeared to have conquered. Everywhere slogans were raised on banners, scrawled on walls, yelled in the streets, "Welcome to the Liberators," "Long live Roosevelt," "Long live Churchill." Now these signs are weatherbeaten, aged, torn—and are not replaced. New ideas, new banners, new slogans appear, and always to the left—"Long live Russia," "Long live Soviets," "Soviet Italy."

Since the arrival of the Anglo-American conquerors, the politicalization of the Italian masses has been intensified. It is clear to all, the Allied armies are the government of Italy. Italy is an occupied country. The result—not "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear," but their opposite—hunger, devastation, slaughter, suppression of democratic rights, maintenance of the old capitalist-landlord-monarchist regime.

The most significant sign of the developing revolutionary situation in Italy, the greatest news I have to relate, is to confirm the existence, rapid growth and increasing influence of the official Trotskyist movement, the Bolshevik-Leninist adherents of the Fourth International.

The new organization, forged in the heat of the revolutionary flame blazing among the Italian masses, was recently formed in Naples from a fusion of the old Trotskyist cadre and sympathizers, including the writers of the Manifesto from Italy published in the April 8 Militant, a section of dissidents from the Stalinist party, leftward moving elements from the Socialist Party and a group of former Bordigists. Their forces, to begin with, are already considerable. Trotskyist groups have also grown in Rome and other cities in south Italy. From the north, the key industrial area still under the Nazi heel, I learned from unimpeachable sources of the increasing activity and influence of the Trotskyists in the traditional center of proletarian revolution, Milan.

The new Trotskyist organization has already issued one pamphlet and the first edition of its official paper, **L'Internationale.** On its first appearance, the entire edition of **L'Internationale** was completely sold out from the news-stands in less than 2 hours. Like all publications which do not sanction the policies of the Allied conquerors and their puppet Italian government, the Trotskyist paper has been banned. It must be printed and distributed under incredible handicaps, among which is the need to secure all paper from the black market at the phenomenal price of 5 cents per sheet.

DEFEND 4th INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

The first issue of **L'Internationale** confirms the faith of the Trotskyists everywhere that the program of the Fourth International would inevitably find its way to the revolutionary workers of Europe. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninists, through their paper, send greetings to their Trotskyist co-thinkers everywhere, proclaim their solidarity with the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, call for the support of the Fourth International. Their paper contains articles on the situation in Italy, the nature of the war and the tasks of the Italian workers. **It fully defends the program of the Fourth International; against the imperialist war, for a socialist Italy as part of a socialist United States of Europe, for the defense of the Soviet Union, against Stalinism and its policies of deceit and treachery.**

The Trotskyists of Italy are mainly workers, veterans of Mussolini's prisons, tried and tested in the harsh underground struggle against fascism. I talked with one Trotskyist worker from Rome, a hardened revolutionary fighter. It was from him I learned that there is a large Trotskyist group in Rome and also in Milan.

This worker had first met Trotskyists inside Mussolini's prisons, where he had been confined for 8 years. The prisons were veritable universities for revolutionary education. They had formed a Trotskyist group inside prison. From Milanese revolutionists in the same prison, my informant had learned that there were "hundreds" of Trotskyists in the industrial Milan area.

One of the most significant indications of the growing response to Trotskyism, is the attractive power of the Bolshevik-Leninist program for the youth. Already, a sizeable youth movement, under

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Unfurling the Trotskyist Banner

Bridges' Program Endangers Vital Longshoremen's Gains

By Oscar Nelson

Bridges surrounds his betrayal of the interests of the west coast longshoremen with a patriotic halo. "Everything for the war effort": under this formula conditions gained by years of fighting and sacrifice on the part of rank and file longshoremen have been thrown to the winds. The giving up of union conditions on the part of Bridges and the Stalinist clique to increase "efficiency" in the loading and discharging of wartime cargoes has been a one-way street.

The shipowners are also interested in increasing efficiency but their "patriotism" is first of all a patriotism for profits and any new devices for speeding ship loadings are acceptable to them only if they can be carried out at the expense of the longshoremen. They are first of all concerned with cashing in on the tremendous wartime shipping program. Efficiency where government cargo is involved is only a secondary consideration.

The shipowners intend to preserve absolute control over loading operations in order to prevent exposure of their enormous profits. That is why they have sabotaged the union's proposal for the pooling of gear in each port. The bookkeeping operations involved would expose their profiteering; the elimination of anarchy in the industry resulting from this measure would cut down overall profits by wiping out excessive rental fees charged against loading expenses. The Maritime Industry Board ostensibly set up to increase efficiency — and approved and cheered on by the Stalinist clique of Bridges and company — has been proved a total flop where cutting down loading costs and increasing operating efficiency is concerned. Bridges made this point clear enough in testimony before the Downey Senatorial Commission in July 1943 which was investigating charges of inefficiency by west coast longshoremen:

BRIDGES TESTIMONY

"The private shippers have more influence with the board than we do. The private shipping operators give orders to the board and those orders are obeyed. The records will show it.

"The private shipping operators are at the same time the administrators in the government agency responsible for the operation of our merchant shipping. And the Deputy Administrator in charge of the Pacific Coast is at the same time president of one of our largest shipping concerns.

"The adoption of some of the Union's proposals by the Maritime Board, although it will conserve manpower and increase production, will not mean enough money for the operators and therefore this shipping operator in his capacity as the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration on the Pacific Coast ordered the board to hold such proposals in abeyance or to file them or to ditch them in some way or other.

"... the private operators worry more about their profits and their opposition to labor than about getting the job done. Of course

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The UAW Convention

An Editorial

The recent convention of the Auto Union is a landmark in the history of the American labor movement.

The organization of a new rank and file group, boldly fighting against the treacherous policies of the CIO leadership, boldly fighting to smash the no-strike pledge, boldly fighting for a new militant program, is an event of first class importance. It means that the fumes of "national unity" are being dispelled, that the auto unionists, standing in the front ranks of America's mass production workers, are preparing again to battle for their interests and rights. This marks a significant step forward!

The whole labor movement is a head taller as a result of the struggle at the Auto Convention.

Dewey Campaign Shows Both Major Parties In Same Wall Street Camp

Rubber Convention Militants Battle For Union Democracy

By Frank Lawrence

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 23—Opposition forces led by George R. Bass, President of Goodrich local 5, gained democratic concessions from the Dalrymple administration in the closing hours of the United Rubber Workers' convention which ended its week-long sessions in the Park Central hotel here today.

These concessions were won through a "compromise" motion, presented as a substitute for the report of the Appeals Committee. The "compromise" was drafted jointly by Bass and L. S. Buckmaster, general Vice-President and presented "as a means of bringing final settlement to all appeals cases before the conventions." It recommended the following:

"1) In all cases of expulsion by the president and/or the general executive board in connection with violations of the no-strike pledge, the constitution or orders of the board, those effected be restored to their former status of membership in the union.

"2) All claims for back pay made by the expelled members be denied.

"3) The appeal of Goodrich local 5 (which had in turn moved to expel Dalrymple following his bureaucratic action against union members in the Akron area) be denied.

"4) 50 percent of all fines collected from members whose cases were appealed be refunded by the International."

The "compromise" motion also stated that the above provisions should apply in cases of a similar nature now pending before the general executive board. It was adopted unanimously by the convention.

These charges and countercharges and cases of expulsions and fines that were appealed to the convention had been one of the main issues facing the convention. The large delegation from the Akron area, comprising a third of the convention delegates, came instructed by its locals to fight for the restoration of democratic rights and procedure in the URW.

This question of union democracy became a crucial issue in the Akron area when International President Dalrymple summarily expelled 72 bandbuilders from the General Tire and Rubber local last January, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike. Ray Sullivan and Howard Haas, former presidents of General Tire local 9, took up the fight on behalf of the victimized union men and immediately they were expelled by Dalrymple, discharged from the plant and quickly drafted into the army. Dalrymple united with the corporations against his union membership.

Upon request of the convention Haas was granted a special leave by his commanding officer. He appeared at the final session and was given an ovation by the delegates. He thanked the convention for reinstating him and Sullivan to membership.

Final disposition of these appeals came only at the tail-end of the convention. The Dalrymple leadership had rigged the procedure so as to get a formal decision on union policy and have itself reelected to office for the coming year, before it went on trial for its past bureaucratic actions.

It was only on the fourth day that the key policy issue — the no-strike pledge — was debated by the convention. The hand-picked resolutions committee brought in a lengthy "statement of policy" which was to be "the guiding line of the union for the coming year." The statement read: "We vigorously and unreservedly reaffirm our pledge against strikes, stoppages, slowdowns, and other interruptions of work." The statement of policy itself was laid aside until the resolutions, of which it was a summary statement, could be acted upon separately.

SHOVED ASIDE

All attempts by the opposition to restrict the no-strike pledge by striking out the words "without qualifications or reservation" were shoved aside. L. S. Buckmaster, most articulate spokesman of the Dalrymple leadership, declared that there could be no equivocation on this question: He reiterated: "We must take a position either *for* or *against* the no-strike pledge." According to him, organized labor is a minority group and will be crushed after the war if it does not curry favor with the powers-that-be by strictly adhering to its pledge, "given to the nation." He alluded to the United Auto Workers convention as an example of what may happen when amendments and reservations are tacked onto the pledge.

Sherman H. Dalrymple, drawing upon his experiences after the First World War, declared that the employers can smash the unions by provoking a series of strikes. He saw hope only in the benevolent protection of Roosevelt and the War Labor Board. "This," he said, "will assure support of the returning soldiers."

Thomas Evans of local 18, a 68-year-old father, who has lost one son in the war and has two more serving at the battle front, related how the employers are

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Republicans Use 'New Deal' Line In Plea for Votes

By R. Bell

As the political campaign unfolds it becomes increasingly difficult to discern any distinction between the programs of the two capitalist parties. The platforms adopted by the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties were distinguished by their evasive straddling of every important issue. It was impossible to make head or tail out of the platform double-talk into which anyone could read whatever he desired. So vague was the mumbo-jumbo passed off by both parties as a political platform that Wendell Willkie, in an article (Collier's, September 16) entitled: "Cowardice at Chicago," pointed out: "In many respects the platforms parallel each other, revealing the tendency of practical politicians to try to conciliate and win all elements of the population without offending others within or without the party."

The political platforms were so meaningless, "that thoughtful independent voters," wrote Willkie, "will await anxiously the interpretations placed upon them by the candidates." In a series of campaign speeches delivered in the major cities on the Pacific Coast, the Republican nominee, Thomas E. Dewey, has presented his "interpretation" of the Republican platform.

"METHOD"

The only conclusion that the "thoughtful independent voter" can arrive at after hearing Dewey's speeches is that the only tangible difference that divides his party from the Democrats is one of "method." Dewey subscribes to the Administration's policy on war and peace, both foreign and domestic, with the one amendment that he could do "the same things better" than Roosevelt. His speeches are a stale rehash of "New Deal" demagogy in which he, like Roos-

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LABOR AND LIBERAL LEADERS SIGN APPEAL FOR AID TO 18

An appeal for financial aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee signed by seven prominent trade union and liberal leaders is going out this week to several thousand local unions throughout the country. The signers are John Green, President of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; Willard S. Townsend, President of the CIO United Transport Service Employes of America; George Baldanzi, Vice-President of the CIO United Textile Workers Union; Julius Hochman, Manager of the N. Y. Joint Board of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner; John Dewey, eminent educator and philosopher; and James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the CRDC.

The appeal aims to obtain funds for the relief of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, their wives and children and for the CRDC's national campaign to free the 18 and repeal the Smith "Gag" Act.

More than 500 copies of the pamphlet: "Who Are The 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" were distributed by the New York branch of the CRDC to the delegates at the CIO United Rubber Workers convention last week. Having become acquainted with the important issues involved in the case, a number of delegates promised to work for support from their locals upon their return.

BOSTON CONFERENCE

On Sunday, September 24 a conference to promote the national campaign of the CRDC in New England, called by the Boston CRDC and endorsed by the District Council of the Workmen's Circle, was held at the Workmen's Circle Center in Dorchester. The conference was well attended by delegates and visitors from Workmen's Circle branches and other workers' organizations in the Boston area. After hearing the address of George Novack, National CRDC Secretary, the conference unanimously adopted a resolution urging President Roosevelt to pardon the 18 and elected a committee of 13 to visit local labor and fraternal organizations to secure support for the case.

MILWAUKEE CRDC

The Milwaukee CRDC reports that after a thorough discussion of this important labor case, UAW-CIO Local 283 of the Wisconsin Motors Corporation voted unanimous support in the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act and for the freedom of the 18 and contributed $25 to the CRDC.

Other recent contributors include $150 from the N. Y. Joint Board, Cloak and Suitmakers of the ILGWU-AFL; International Office of CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes; CIO United Steelworkers 2431, Chelsea, Mass.; Mechanics Educational Society, Local 4, Toledo, Ohio; ILGWU Local 21, Newark, N. J.; United Construction Workers Local 312, Bessemer, Pa.; Cake Bakers Union, AFL, Local 51, N. Y. C.; Plastic Button and Novelty Local 132, ILGWU, N. Y. C.

Imperialists Spread Slander To Stave Off Coming Struggle for Socialism In Germany

By A. Roland

Slander has always been a political weapon of the ruling class used against the leaders of the oppressed. The Russian bourgeoisie in its day tried desperately to discredit Lenin and Trotsky by the accusation that they were German agents. Stalin clumsily aped the capitalists when he used the Moscow trials to try to convince the world that the Bolsheviks had become agents of fascism. Now the imperialists pretend to swallow this fraud in order to utilize the weapon of slander in order to stave off and defeat the proletarian revolution.

Churchill adopted Stalin's method in his farewell message to the Italian people on August 28. This enslaver of almost half of all humanity, who warned that he had not become prime minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British empire, gave the Italians a few pointers on democracy and freedom. The Italians are just emerging from the nightmare of fascism and are filled with hatred for the totalitarian regime which brought about the ruin of Italy. Churchill attempts to divert this hatred from the fascists and their capitalist masters to the revolutionary fighters who see the solution for the Italian masses only in the socialist transformation of society.

AN AMALGAM

The English Prime Minister is concerned lest there be a survival or recrudescence of "totalitarianism" under "some form or other." He obviously tries to create an amalgam between fascism and — the proletarian revolution! "Such (totalitarian) systems of government tyranny breed in the conditions of social dislocation, economic hardship and moral depression which follow in the wake of war and defeat." Churchill would be far more convincing in his solicitude for the welfare of the Italian masses if he were not on record with his fulsome praise of the scoundrel Mussolini. His warning now is directed not against reactionary fascist totalitarianism but against those who wish to end fascism forever by ending capitalism. "It is at such a crisis in their history that peoples should be most on their guard against unscrupulous parties seeking after power and most zealous in the preservation of their liberties." But it is precisely Churchill who is doing his level best to prevent the Italians from enjoying any liberties by foisting a new totalitarian regime on the country under the false guise of democracy. And it can be guaranteed in advance that if the Italian people exercise the liberty they win in struggle against the ruling class to establish socialism, Churchill will repeat his performance of the last World War and try to intervene to drown the revolution in blood.

Fear of the coming socialist revolution is reflected not only in Churchill's speech but in the constant stream of lying propaganda on the part of the Allied spokesmen. A conscious effort is made to confuse the workers by identifying the forces of reaction with the forces of revolution. The writer, Paul Ghali, contributes his mite in an article in the *N. Y. Post* from Basle, dated September 11. The Nazis, according to this story, are already preparing for secret survival after defeat. How? "They believe Russia will impose Communism on Germany after the war. The most reliable private information to this correspondent speaks of secret societies being formed by Nazis whose members are destined to infiltrate themselves into Communist groups and form a Fifth Column. Special training in Marxism is being given to chosen members of the Hitler Jugend, who will proclaim their adherence to Communism and join the German Soviets." This kind of perversion will later permit calling any revolutionist who is a

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Inner union democracy has been a key issue within the United Mine Workers for over two decades, ever since John L. Lewis, as UMW President, established his dictatorial machine rule by ruthless methods. This issue has centered around the question of autonomy for the various UMW districts, the right of the membership to elect their own district officials. In 21 of the union's 31 districts, Lewis has reserved for himself the exclusive prerogative of appointing the officers over the districts.

The question of autonomy in itself is a progressive issue. The rank and file miners want union democracy.

Last June, as the national presidential campaign shifted into high speed, the cry of "autonomy" was once more raised by an opposition group within the UMW. This time, however, it received support not merely from a section of the miners, but from forces which never in the past have revealed particular concern over the matter of union democracy for the miners. That support, coming from avowed enemies of the miners, including a section of the capitalist press, Administration spokesmen, pro-Roosevelt liberals, CIO bureaucrats and Stalinists, made the latest autonomy movement suspect from the start.

In addition, the main spokesman for the new opposition was Ray Edmundson of Springfield, Ill., who for the past ten years had distinguished himself as one of Lewis' chief lieutenants, a hand-picked district leader who faithfully enforced the dictates of "Big John." His sudden emergence, without explanation, as a champion of union democracy, his sudden opposition to the Lewis administration and his equally sudden pro-Roosevelt declarations seemed to indicate that Philip Murray, who heads an equally autocratic machine in the Steel Union, had a hand in the organization of the Edmundson opposition movement.

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But at the recent UMW convention in Cincinnati, Lewis did nothing to assure the miners that the charges of dictatorship were false, or that he intended to permit a relaxation of his high-handed, personal rule. On the contrary, he once more demonstrated the correctness of the charges in themselves by his totally brutal and arbitrary handling of the Edmundson opposition.

Lewis dealt with the opposition by physically eliminating Edmundson from the convention and declaring him ineligible as a delegate and as a candidate for office, on a cooked-up technicality that has never been operative for Lewis's loyal henchmen. In addition, Lewis rammed through a couple of constitutional provisions calculated to entrench still more securely his machine rule. Amendments were adopted providing constitutional conventions and election of officers every four years instead of every two.

* * *

At the convention, Lewis correctly scored Roosevelt and his labor policies. In true words of fire and brimstone, of which Lewis is a past master, he charged Roosevelt with the intention "to bind men to their jobs like indentured servants...to regiment and enslave labor... to put American workers in a straitjacket."

From this justified appraisal of Roosevelt's anti-labor role, Lewis could turn, however, only to another political sector of American capitalism, the notoriously reactionary Republican Party of Wall Street, and paint up Dewey, the "Little Lord Fauntleroy" of the Girdlers, Weirs, Fords and Averys, as a "friend of labor." Thus, Lewis revealed he has no other political "solution" to the burning problems of the miners and the entire labor movement than to return to his first love — the Republican Party.

Lewis, like the pro-Roosevelt bureaucrats of the CIO and AFL, is an enemy of the only genuine political program which can begin to solve labor's problems—independent labor political action through a real labor party. **In principle, Lewis has an identical political philosophy with Murray and Green, to curry favor with one or the other of the capitalist political machines, to wheedle crumbs on the basis of bargaining off labor's political power to the current highest capitalist political bidder.**

* * *

Lewis has managed to retain considerable support from the miners' rank and file, despite his dictatorial high-handed rule, because of his energetic and decisive leadership in struggling for the economic demands of the miners. His bold fight in the past year for wage increases which culminated in three general coal strikes, rehabilitated his standing and prestige among thousands of coal miners.

To an extent, he reinforced that support at the convention by his refusal to knuckle under to the two decrees of Secretary Ickes, commanding Lewis by letter to call off the strike of supervisory employes now in progress under the leadership of the Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Employes Union of District 50. Lewis issued two scathing replies, adopted by the convention. The first charged the government with giving the supervisory and clerical employes, and the miners generally, a "rotten deal," called the Roosevelt current mine seizure a "farce" and "a device on the part of the President and the coal operators... to deprive them (the miners) of their rights." "We think, however, that as long as you purport to operate these mines, you should keep them safe," by making "the safety findings of the Federal inspectors effective."

Further, scorning to endorse a no-strike pledge, Lewis called on the miners, to be prepared next spring to follow their traditional policy of "no contract, no work" when the contract negotiations come up again. He indicated also that in case of revision of the Little Steel Formula, the UMW would act promptly to demand increases in accordance with existing contractual stipulations.

* * *

One clause in the proposed new contract is particularly significant with respect to Lewis's organizational aims and policies. That is a clause requiring the operators to supply miners with only union-made explosives and tools. This is intended to fortify the UMW organizing drive in the chemical industries through the District 50 set-up.

Lewis has previously engaged in numerous organizational ventures, in the fields of the dairy farmers, construction workers etc. But these efforts floundered miserably on the shoals of his bureaucratic organizational set-up and methods. The unionization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the chemical industry is certainly a vital and progressive task. It will be successfully accomplished, however, only through the democratic participation of the chemical workers themselves.

The Militant
may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Branches Off To Flying Start In Trial Pamphlets Sales Campaign

By Campaign Manager

The enthusiastic reports of the branches on the successful work they have already done in the call-back and literature campaign, tell most effectively how much the new readers of The Militant like our program! In Los Angeles, 80 out of 98 persons visited, renewed their subscriptions or bought the special set of the four Minneapolis Case pamphlets.

Our comrades write that the new readers of **The Militant** follow closely all articles in our paper about the Minneapolis Labor Case, and are eager to read the Trial pamphlets now being offered to them for only 25 cents by Pioneer Publishers.

The set, including James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," the pamphlet "Why We Are in Prison," and the CRDC pamphlet, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" do more than explain the Minneapolis trial. They also provide a simple, basic explanation of the principles of the Trotskyist movement.

FROM THE MAIL BAG

Los Angeles: Our work in revisiting subscribers is almost too satisfactory to describe in a letter. This week, out of 98 subscribers visited, 80 renewed their subs or bought pamphlet sets. . . But that can only give you a statistically optimistic picture. When you have the experiences recounted, you begin to become really enthused. Many workers say they make it a point to read the paper or have it read to them no matter how tired they are when they come home from work; many tell us that they give **The Militant** to their friends, too. **There were some instances in which our comrades were asked to come back to speak to a meeting arranged for them at the subscriber's home. Card after card comes in marked "the best paper I ever read," "only criticism is that it's only six pages," "notify me of all meetings," and so forth!**

St. Paul: One comrade spoke to three workers, asking them how they like **The Militant.** Their simple answer was "We're Negroes. We have no other choice!"—and our comrade sold each of them a set of the four trial pamphlets. Two other subscribers told us that they pass the paper around amongst their friends.

Chicago: This week we sold 76 pamphlets—that's 19 sets—after securing 9 renewals.

Buffalo: Another 76 pamphlets were sold this week, and 10 more renewals of subscriptions to **The Militant** obtained. (We hope Buffalo will tell us next week something about their experiences as well as their fine totals.)

San Francisco: We visited a number of subscribers, securing 14 renewals and selling 96 trial pamphlets within a week. Comments on the paper are generally favorable; one particularly interesting one came from a Negro subscriber who formerly read the Stalinist "People's World." He told our comrade he thinks our Negro Struggle column is good, but he especially likes the editorials. He appreciates the paper as a whole because it is broad in its approach, and takes a political stand he likes.

New York: In the first three weeks of the callback and literature campaign, the New York Local has sold 64 six-month subs, four one-year subs, and 23 new trial subs, in addition to selling 360 of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets. As the campaign progresses and comrades get more experience in this type of work, our percentages of subs and pamphlets increase steadily. Comrades are having fine discussions with the workers who have read the paper for three months. The comrades look upon this campaign as a press and party builder, and therefore they are making a point of obtaining new trial subs for friends of readers who renew their own subscriptions.

Our agent in Youngstown has succeeded in placing **The Militant** on newsstands there. She writes: "The newsstands here were difficult to break into. However, we have maintained two within the city and are organizing our work so as to encourage the sales at the respective stands and to establish them permanently.

"The best method of publicizing the newsstands, we believe, is to distribute, consistently, our paper in the neighborhood where the stand is located. We're in the initial stage of this trial and are, therefore, unable to say at present the exact success. However, we can say the work has possibilities and the sales at the stands are improving.

"I'm enclosing two different stickers which we made up for distributing to two different localities. We print these, with slight variation, every week and paste them onto The Militant, which is outstanding and quite noticeable."

Our agent in Reading has also succeeded in placing The Militant on a newsstand there: Herman's Newsstand, 131 Buttonwood St.

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In addition to getting renewals of the 3 month introductory subscriptions sold during the campaign, the branches continue to sell 25c. subs in quantity.

Minneapolis sold out and has ordered 25 more sub cards. One of our Seattle agents sent us money for which he asked us to "send 15 of the prepaid 25c. sub blanks" to a friend in Portland. "He is a subscriber of **The Militant** and is very enthusiastic about it; he feels that he can get a number of subs."

Our San Francisco agent writes: "Please send us another 800 sub cards. From what I have been able to determine of the literature sets sold we can expect to sell to about 40 percent or at best 50 percent of the subscribers. Since we have only about 1000 left to contact we have to go out after another bunch of 25c. subs, so tentatively we are **scheduling two full mobilizations. This time we are going to emphasize the socialist anti-war aspect of The Militant."**

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Comments from our new readers are so interesting that we want to pass some of them along:

. . . "Received the back numbers of **The Militant.** Sat up half the night looking them over. That's what I wanted — a bird's -eye' view of what's going on today."

. . . "There are some things in the paper I don't understand, but you can say that about any paper. I like part of it a lot, but I try to read all of it."

. . . "The Militant is one of the best working people's papers I have read."

. . . "Am enclosing $1 for renewal of my sub for six months and would appreciate any further writings or analysis on the coming events in this imperialist upheaval which are fast coming to a head and will be very interesting no doubt."

. . . **"I read your weekly by chance and I am so much pleased to read it that I take this opportunity to ask you to send me your paper. Please let me know how much I have to remit for the yearly subscription."**

. . . "I like 'Struggle for Negro Equality' best."

. . . "Swell. It's a real workingman's paper."

. . . "The paper is like a letter from home."

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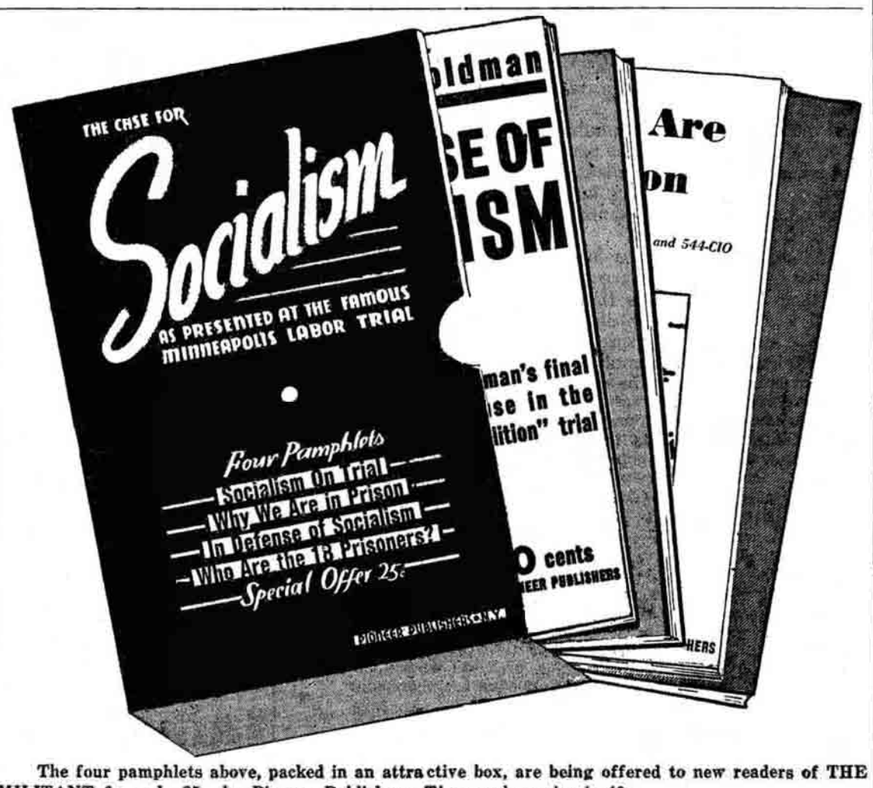
New York	2800
Philadelphia	80
Pittsburgh	10
Quakertown	10
Reading	90
Rochester	140
San Francisco	350
San Diego	80
Seattle	500
St. Louis	10
St. Paul	140
Texas	30
Toledo	160
Youngstown	120
Total	10,000



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive box, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25c, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40c.

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 3-Month Subscription to

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HISTORY OF TROTSKYISM BY CANNON ISSUED BY PIONEER

By Charles Carsten

An ever-increasing number of people are anxious to know what Trotskyism is. In the opening pages of his book, the History of American Trotskyism, Cannon makes it clear that "Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian Revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

In his book, Cannon shows how the obstacles in the path of the Revolutionary movement were overcome, how the Trotskyists broke out of the isolation that followed their expulsion from the Communist Party, how the sectarians were defeated, and how new strata of workers were recruited to the party. He demonstrates how a cadre of experienced Marxists, steeled in the class struggle, disciplined and trained in the program, methods and tradition of Bolshevism, was formed.

He then shows how deeply the Trotskyists movement is rooted in the past. As a member of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party which later formed the Communist Party, Cannon was a delegate to the founding conference of the Communist Party in 1919 and for nine years was one of its leading figures.

FACTIONALISM

The ranks of the Communist Party, in its early days, were wracked with factionalism and faced terrific persecution. "After the masters finished the war to 'make the world safe for democracy,'" Cannon explains, "they decided to write a supplementary chapter to make the U. S. safe for the open shop." The young party was driven underground by the unbridled reaction of 1919.

In spite of ultra-leftist diseases, the Communist Party of the 1920's made some great contributions to American working class politics. For the first time in this country a political party was built, based on Bolshevik doctrine, with a disciplined membership and a professional leadership.

After summing up the lessons of that period, Cannon remarks: "The important thing to remember is that our modern Trotskyist movement originated in the Communist Party...Despite all the negative aspects of the party in those early years . . . despite its weakness, its crudities, its infantile sicknesses, its mistakes . . . whatever may be said about the degeneration of the Communist Party in this country . . . Out of the Communist Party in the United States came the nucleus of the Fourth International in this country . . . We must not surrender . . . the tradition of the first years of American Communism. That belongs to us and upon that we have built."

STALINIST CAMPAIGN

In 1927, following the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the anti-Trotskyist campaign was whipped up to a frenzied pitch by the Stalinists. Cannon was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928. Trotsky's historic thesis, **The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals,** somehow slipped through a crevice in the bureaucratic Stalinist apparatus and was given to members of the Program Commission of which Cannon was a member. For the first time Cannon had an opportunity to study Trotsky's program. **He became convinced that "Marxist truth was on the side of Trotsky," and decided to go back to the United States and wage a struggle under the banner of Trotskyism. Cannon and his adherents were soon expelled as Trotskyists by the bureaucratic machine headed at that time by Jay Lovestone.**

The trying years of isolation that followed the expulsion, the bitter struggle to get out each issue of **The Militant,** the tremendous difficulties of those early years, form a moving section of the book. Only the dogged determination born of a conviction of the correctness of a revolutionary program and the selfless devotion characteristic of revolutionary leaders, could have carried the group through those dark days.

When the opportunity to break out of the isolation presented itself the Trotskyists eagerly seized it. The Trotskyist leaders of Minneapolis were tested, experienced Bolsheviks and mass workers. Through their efforts, the teamsters of Minneapolis were organized into the union. Under Trotskyist leadership, two heroic strikes were waged which broke the backbone of the bosses' resistance and laid the groundwork for converting Minneapolis into a solid union town. The Trotskyists demonstrated that they were not merely "book people," learned theoreticians, but were capable of putting their theories into practice and leading mass movements in revolutionary struggle.

In evaluating the Minneapolis strike, Cannon points out that "... the July-August strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has entered into the annals of the history of the American labor movement as one of its greatest, most heroic and best-organized struggles."

Cannon, who was sent to Minneapolis by the party and collaborated closely with the leaders of the strike, relates the events and analyzes the contributions made by the Trotskyist leadership. This section of the book comprises the best exposition of strike strategy and tactics available.

NEW PARTIES

With Hitler's rise to power and the capitulation of the German Communist Party without a struggle, the complete bankruptcy of the Communist International was apparent. Trotsky and the international organization of the Left Opposition proclaimed the need for building a new international — the Fourth International. This meant the end of the policy of struggling to reform the Communist International as a revolutionary organization. With this decision the Trotskyists turned their attention to the building of new revolutionary parties throughout the world.

The Trotskyists in this country began to discuss the question of fusion with the American Workers Party (Musteites). The AWP had within its ranks many militant workers and the organization was moving to the left — toward a revolutionary program. The AWP had demonstrated its ability to lead workers in militant struggle in numerous unemployed demonstrations and in the famous 1934 Auto-Lite strike in Toledo.

Cannon remarks that prior to the fusion which was achieved at the end of 1934, "Toledo and Minneapolis had become twin symbols of the two highest points of proletarian militancy and conscious leadership."

The attention of the newly formed Workers Party was soon drawn to developments within the Socialist Party. A left wing group was organized and was moving towards a revolutionary program. The Trotskyists understood that without proper leadership it would either stop half way, remain a centrist tendency in the labor movement, or be swallowed up by the Stalinists. The Trotskyists decided that they must fuse with this new left wing tendency. To this end, the Trotskyists finally decided to join the Socialist Party and fight inside for its own program.

FRUITFUL YEAR

Cannon declares, " . . . no one could have ground to believe that we were joining as capitulators, as renegades from Communism. We said: 'We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas.' . . . And there was a fruitful year of work ahead of us in the Socialist Party."

Norman Thomas, who as Trotsky aptly remarked, "calls himself a socialist as the result of a misunderstanding," found that the Trotskyists were serious revolutionary socialists. He became embarrassed by their presence in his hitherto respectable party. His solution was the imposition of a "Gag Law" which made it impossible to discuss political issues, and then wholesale expulsions. The youth and militant workers went with the Trotskyists.

On New Year's Day, 1938, the expelled Trotskyists met in convention, formed the Socialist Workers Party and adopted the program of the Fourth International — the program of uncompromising struggle against world capitalism.

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Killing Of Fascist Police Chief Is Sign Of Revolutionary Mood Of Italian Masses

By James Cowan

The white-hot revolutionary temper of the Italian masses, who are seeking not only to avenge the abominations to which they were subjected under the Fascist regime, but also to overcome all present obstacles to a better social future, was evidenced last week in a single dramatic incident in "liberated" Rome where an angered crowd of 7,000 joined in the killing of Donato Carretta, former vice-director of the Regina Coeli prison.

This one incident revealed with crystal clarity some of the most important elements in the Italian situation: the hatred of the masses for the Fascists and for the Allied imperialists who are endeavoring to shield them from the popular anger; the impotence of the Bonomi "coalition" government and its complete dependence on foreign bayonets; the refusal of the masses to be "disciplined" by ether the old or new oppressors.

It was Herbert Matthews, N.Y. *Times* correspondent in Rome, who wrote the most complete eye-witness account of this act of retribution. Carretta had been brought to court as a prosecution witness against Pietro Caruso, Roman police chief under the Germans, who was to be tried on a charge of turning over 50 Italian hostages to the Nazis for execution.

Rome had been occupied by the Allies three and a half months previously, and during those months, wrote Matthews, relatives of the victims of Caruso's police, who formed the spearhead of the demonstrating crowd, "saw Caruso and his secretary... and others live in the safety of the prison" where they were sheltered and protected by the Bonomi regime and the Allied Military Government.

"Hatred and passion smoldered week after week and today broke into burning flame. They did not get Caruso (whom the authorities kept from the courtroom by a ruse), but they got one who represented in their minds all that Caruso did."

TOO RISKY

Considering it too risky to proceed with Caruso's trial, the court announced its postponement, but the crowd spotted Carretta, the jailer. A woman denounced him for having accepted a bribe of 150,000 lire to save her son, who was one of the hostages handed over to the Nazis, and then doing nothing about it.

The crowd pounced on Carretta and belabored him with their fists. He ran for safety into the courtyard, but was cornered there, seized again, and dragged out into the street where he was beaten up again. By now unconscious, he was thrown from a bridge into the Tiber River. The cold water revived him and he swam toward the bank. Men put out in boats, beat him to death with the paddles. The lifeless body was retrieved and hung up head downward from the bars of the prison in which so many anti-fascists had been tortured and done to death and from which the 50 hostages had been taken.

Matthews reported that some 200 Carabinieri and other Italian police looked on and "did not lift a finger" to save the Fascist jailer. In the jammed courtroom the police sought shelter when the crowd commenced to act. "Some jumped out of the windows into the courtyard."

More significant, perhaps, than this demonstration of the impotence of the Bonomi regime in face of the angered masses were two incidents which occurred in the final stages of the killing, both reported by Matthews.

In the streets, momentarily, two lieutenants of the Carabinieri succeeded in freeing the badly beaten Fascist from the furies of the crowd. They carried him to a command car standing a few feet away, with an American soldier at the wheel. But the soldier "refused to take the burden and drove off."

The two officers then picked Carretta up and carried him to where a British military truck stood and asked the driver to take him to safety. "The Britons refused and drove away. The Carabinieri officers put their burden down helplessly."

FASCIST JAILER

Matthews professed to be horrified by this manifestation of "mob rule" and displayed great solicitude for the Fascist jailer who finally paid for his crimes at the hands of the Roman populace. It is on the record, however, that Matthews was never horrified by the mob rule of Mussolini's Fascist blackshirts. He never protested against the indignities, the tortures, the killings that went on in Italy for twenty years under Fascism. This was for the simple reason that Matthews was himself an admirer of Mussolini's regime, and said so without mincing any words. Like Churchill, he belatedly discovered his anti-Fascism only when Mussolini plunged Italy into the war against the imperialist "democracies."

"None," he wrote, "can help entertaining fears for the future of Italy. What, it is being asked, about the cities of the north, which are accustomed to more violence even than the Roman mobs." Matthews emphasizes the fact that the crowd which killed Carretta included many women and that "many of the men as well as the women were middle-class or lower middle-class. This was no mob of hooligans."

"Hooligans" is the term which Matthews used to describe the working-class of the industrial North, in the big cities of Turin, Milan, Genoa, who are displaying their revolutionary fighting qualities in battle against the Nazi oppressors. If "mob violence" can occur in respectable, middle-class Rome, what is to be expected in the great proletarian centers once the Nazis have been driven out? "Inevitably thoughts of the Bastille rose in all observers' minds," said the correspondent.

The anxiety voiced by Matthews reflects the anxiety of the imperialists and Italian capitalists who see in the offing a great new advance of the forces of the socialist revolution, which will acquire an irresistible sweep once the battalions of the industrial proletariat join forces with the rebellious masses in the rest of Italy.

Matthews' testimony to the revolutionary temper of the masses all over Italy is reinforced by a dispatch from Rome in the Saturday Evening Post. **After describing the terrible conditions of the people in the "liberated" parts of Italy, the writer declares that the "problem of the Italian revolution" is THE problem now facing the Allied imperialists: "For let nobody mistake it, Italy is now in midstream of a strong revolutionary current" with the masses swinging more and more to the left.**

The writer goes on to describe villages alive with "many thousands of Italians — hungry Italians with guns." They will not surrender the guns, he says, before they achieve "some social order more nearly attuned to their ideas of justice than even our own ideas of justice." Like Matthews, this correspondent, too, views with apprehension the Allied "liberation" of the industrial North.

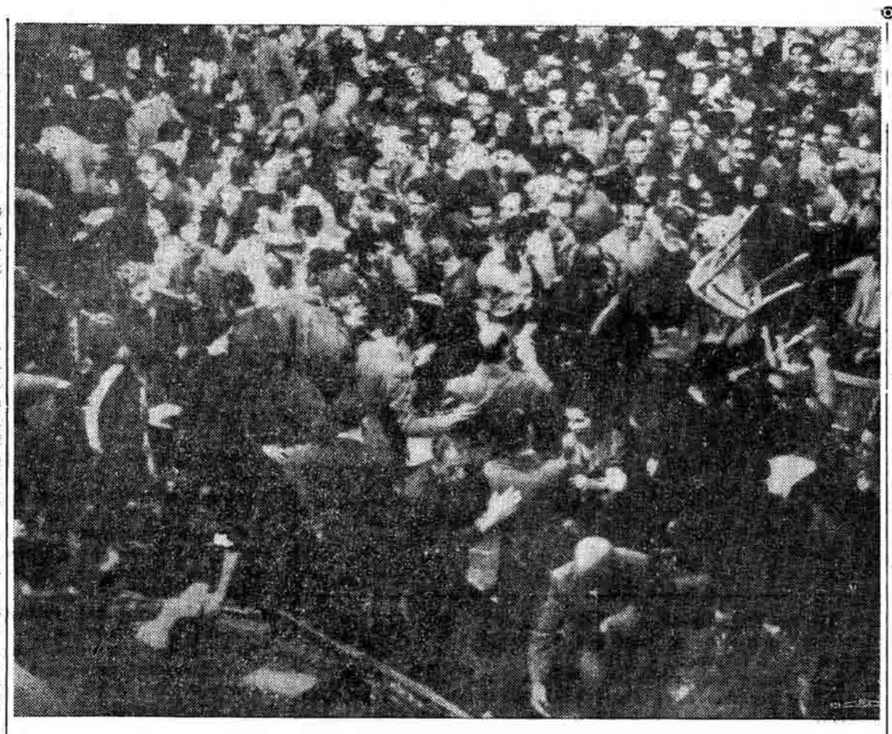
Southern Italy, he states, "is inhabited today by a completely disorganized, demoralized, hungry mob,capable of anything." By which he simply means that the masses are not prepared to tolerate the old order of things, even if it is handed them on a platter supported by Allied bayonets.

How restive Italian workers in Naples are being treated by the Allied authorities is revealed once more in a Naples report published in L'unita' del Popolo, Italian-American weekly. In a factory making pastry for British headquarters the workers, all women, demanded that a wage increase due them be put into effect. "Orders came from the 'higher ups' to check all disturbances: 'If the workers are men, shoot them. If they are women, turn a hose on them.'"

According to the same report, a demand by public utility workers for wage settlements negotiated many months before was greeted by Roosevelt's appointee, Col. Charles Poletti of the Allied Control Commission: "Tell the S. O. B's to go to hell. If they are anxious to hear from Col. Poletti, let them listen to his radio speech." The utility workers were further told that "demonstrations were strictly forbidden, that Allied Military Government would take care of all labor disputes. If a worker dared to disregard the orders, he might be punished by a death sentence."

The rising revolutionary tide in Italy is being watched with intense interest and sympathy by the large Italian-American working class as well as the labor movement in this country. In the Italian policies of Washington and London, they can see plainly the counter-revolutionary aims and purposes which animate the imperialist "liberators."

American labor can best serve its class brothers in Italy by raising loudly the cry: "Hands off Italy! Let the Italian masses determine their own future. Hands off the Italian Revolution!" The whole working-class of America must take up the cry.



A scene in the Roman Palace of Justice, with excited Romans milling through the court room during the first day of the trial of Pietro Caruso.

Caruso Executed

Pietro Caruso, hated Fascist police chief of Rome during the Nazi occupation, was tried September 20, the day following the killing of Donato Carretta, the Fascist jailer, and sentenced to death on the charge of having handed over 50 Italian hostages for execution by the Nazis.

Fearing a fresh outbreak of mass anger by the Roman populace, the trial proceedings were rushed with all haste in a heavily-guarded courtroom and the death sentence promptly executed. N. Y. Times correspondent Herbert Matthews said it was feared that "a lingering trial might exasperate public opinion again."

Report of Activity Of SWP Branches

MIWAUKEE, Sept. 19 — The new office and headquarters of the Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will be formally opened on October 1, with a gala house-warming party to begin at 4 P. M. The program will begin with a lecture by Comrade Jack O'Connell, entitled "Working Men Need a Labor Party." The lecture will be followed by lunch, entertainment, and dancing.

Included in the new headquarters at 926 N. Plankington Avenue, is *The Militant Bookshop* where *The Militant*, *The Fourth International*, and all of Pioneer Publishers works will be displayed and sold.

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 10 — An audience of more than 90 Workers tonight attended a lecture presented by the Socialist Workers Party Branch, on "The Civil War in France."

More than half of the audience were new friends of the organization, who came to the forum in response to a mailing sent to new readers of *The Militant* in Los Angeles. A collection of $67 was contributed by the audience.

Masses Storm Caruso Trial

Fascist Carretta, former director of prisons in Rome, who turned chief witness against Pietro Caruso, Fascist Police Chief in Rome, cringes in fear as Romans storm around him in the Palace of Justice. The masses of Rome took their own vengeance on Carretta after dragging him from the courtroom.

New Italian Trotskyist Group Unfurls Revolutionary Banner

(Continued from page 1)

the banner of the Fourth International, has been formed. Its leading figure is a young woman militant.

The whole situation in Italy is revolutionary and we can predict with confidence that the Italian party of the Fourth International will take its position of leadership in the coming Italian and European revolutions. Its opportunities are enormous.

The Italian workers, remembering the slogans and ideas of a generation ago, want socialism, communism. It is but natural that they should turn first to that group they knew 23 years ago as the party of the October Revolution in Russia and the socialist revolution, the Communist Party. That is why one sees hammers and sickles scrawled everywhere, and even the slogan, "Long live Stalin."

But bitterly and in struggle, the Italian workers are learning that Stalinism is the mortal enemy of the program of socialism. Today all parties in Italy, even the capitalist, are compelled to pay lip service to "socialism." "Christian Democrat," "Actionist," all have a "socialist" wing standing for "ultimate socialism." One can talk to most Italians today only as a socialist.

MASSES WANT SOVIETS

I talked with a Partisan fighter who had come from the north. He said that the Partisans, mainly workers and poor peasants, want Soviets. It is now common talk among the Partisans—they never calls themselves "patriots" as the Allied and Stalinist press falsely title them—that "Tito has sold out. He compromised with the bourgeoisie, accepted their government." Their attitude to the Allied invaders is "get out and leave us to solve our own problems, including the problem of the Nazis."

The trade unions in Allied-occupied Italy are strong and popular, although with industry devastated, strikes and demonstrations prohibited, it is difficult for them to function. The Stalinists, strongest party in Italy today, have an ever-increasing struggle to maintain domination within the unions. Opposition to the Stalinists is growing, and most significantly among those rank and file workers who still belong to the Communist Party.

The workers want bread, jobs, freedom of speech, press and assembly, an end to the fascists who have crawled back into leading positions and to the odious monarchy, a government of their own free choice. Almost immediately the workers in the Communist Party find themselves in opposition to the Stalinist leaders. They soon discover that Stalinism is the main prop among the masses for the Allied occupation and reaction, for the hated puppet regime of Bonomi and the monarchy.

Within the Stalinist party, there is already a large group, calling themselves the "Malcontents," standing in organized opposition to the official policies. This opposition has reached such proportions, that the leaders find it increasingly difficult to employ their old tactics of "frameup, expulsion, isolation."

Within the other large workers' party, the Socialist Party, a struggle of major proportions is under way. The reformist leader, Pietro Nenni, in spite of heavy opposition, is cooperating very closely with the Stalinists. A bitter struggle against Nenni is now in progress, with organized opposition groups existing within the Socialist Party of Rome, Naples and Calabria, where most of the membership opposes Nenni.

Allied officers are wined and dined by the old monarchist and fascist scum, who are being maintained in or returned to their old posts. They have even formed a new party of extreme reaction, the Blue Party, with the tacit approval of the authorities and without opposition from the Stalinists. Indeed, many fascists have found a ready haven in the Stalinist ranks, for that is the only party which accepts members without checking their former fascist connections. A Communist Party membership card, because the Allies consider Stalinists "safe," is an aid to getting a job.

TERRIBLE CONDITIONS

The conditions of the Italian workers have grown incredibly worse under Allied occupation. The people are literally starving, in spite of the promise engraved on all the inflationary Allied currency, "Freedom from Want." The only market for food and all other necessities, for all practical purposes, is the black market. Prices, already enormously inflated, have soared way above the wage scales, fixed by the Allies, of 65 lire (65 cents) a day.

Babies and small children with the swollen bellies of malnutrition are the most common sight I witnessed. Men, women and children swarm around army mess lines with buckets, fighting for a few scraps of food. Riots are common around garbage dumps. Prostitution for a can of G.I. food appears almost normal practice. This winter will be appalling, for there is no fuel, no clothing, no shoes, and the homes, where imperialist armies have passed, are rubble and roofless walls.

This is what the Italian workers are receiving after their heroic armed struggle to overthrow the fascist regime and oust the Nazis. I was in Naples immediately after the Allies marched in, and I can tell you it was the workers alone who drove out the Nazis, after nearly a week of bitter, hand-to-hand fighting in the streets. The Allied troops moved in afterwards without, to my knowledge, firing a single shot or suffering a single casualty. The deceived people then turned the city over for abundant promises of food, "democracy," a "new" officialdom, and surrendered their arms.

Today, a year later, the masses are in tremendous revolutionary ferment. The detested monarchy has been jammed down their throats. Their freedom to meet and demonstrate is denied. No free elections have been held. They cannot even purchase newsprint from the paper control, for only those parties like the Stalinists and Nenni "socialists" which agree with the Allied conquerors and their puppet Bonomi government are permitted to issue publications. The Bonomi regime has not even the power of a rubber stamp, and less mass support.

Only the Trotskyist party offers a real solution to the problems of the Italian people. That is why the Trotskyists, joining hands with the revolutionary socialists everywhere in Europe, are destined to lead the great insurgent proletariat of Italy to their final emancipation.

A LETTER FROM ITALY

Editor:

Enclosed you will find a letter which I have translated from a letter that I received from my father who is in Italy.

It may be interesting to some of the readers of The Militant, so I thought I would send it on to you.

A Reader
California

* * *

"Dearest Son,

"In seeing your letter, it was like seeing you once again.

"You cannot imagine the consolation that it gave me to know that my sons are safe and sound and in good health.

"We are well also for the present, but on paper I can't ever be able to tell you of my past life, of the suffering which we have gone through, and of the hunger and the lack of clothing we are experiencing.

"We have been getting 150 grams of bread a day, and now they have increased it to 200 grams a day; you can wonder how it is possible to live, but we out in the country have been able to help ourselves a little by supplementing this small amount of food with greens, beans and vegetables.

"It is worse in regards to clothing, and shoes are not obtainable at all, except secretly, that is on the black market. To get a pair of work shoes you have to pay 3500 to 4000 lire; whoever has the price gets them, and who hasn't, goes without. Now it is warm and all the farmers go barefooted; there have been many that have been compelled to go barefoot in the cold snow, and that is how everything is in general. Socks just don't exist at all. In regards to the lack of clothing I could never be able to tell you all. **You can imagine for yourself, an ordinary work shirt which previously was priced at 7 or 8 lire, now costs 600 to 700 lire. A good dress shirt costs from 1000 to 1400 lire, so you can see the clothing problem is in a terrible condition, and as for other objects that have to be bought, consider you have to pay from 45 to 50 lire for a box of matches and for an ordinary handkerchief you have to pay 100 lire. I will stop telling you about this and I will try to tell you a little about the life we are living.**

"On September 8 an agreement was arrived at with America, and on the same day I was bombed by an American airplane. The bomb landed about 50 yards away from my home, so you can imagine the damage it caused. It destroyed the house and left it in a perilous condition, but I have fixed it temporarily and it has to be rebuilt; right now there isn't any cement, so that will have to wait.

"It was also on September 8, at nine in the evening, that an American airplane was shot down by the Germans, and the pilot saved himself by parachute. He landed about five miles away and was immediately taken by the farmers in that district, in good condition, and he said he had to release his bombs in order to save himself. He dropped four bombs one after another without killing anyone, but we were all covered with dirt; from then on we slept more than a month in a cave which we built on the side of a river bank.

"The Germans stole all our livestock, chickens, animals, cheese, sausages, bed sheets, etc. and then they would take this plunder and sell it for whatever they could get for it.

"I was in the direct line of fire and action of a large part of the troops and all the highway and railway bridges were bombed away and all the locomotives were shot up by the Germans, and we were left stranded without any means of transportation to be evacuated. It is practically a year and no train has passed our way as yet. I will stop talking about this.

"I would like to tell you about the harvests. They have been terrible and miserable. This year it looks a little better but we can't tell as yet.

"You said that you already know that conditions here are in a bad way and that you would like to help me out in some way. I thank you ever so much for the good heart that you have toward me. In regards to money, I do not desire any, because if you should send thousands of lire they couldn't do me much good, as I would not be able to buy anything much with them; first, everything costs so much, and then, you can't even get it. If you like and if you can, send me clothing, and not anything luxurious, but regular clothing and a pair of good shoes. If you cannot send clothing, send me what you can in money, but I can hardly buy anything. I repeat, if you can, please send some clothes, such as used clothes, work clothes, work shirts, underclothing.

"I would like to tell you much more but I don't even know whether you will ever receive this letter or not."

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Employers Launch Open Shop Drive

By C. Thomas

The California bosses have launched a new all-out open shop drive. They are now campaigning for the adoption of the so-called "Right to Work" amendment to the California constitution, sponsored by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles, which aims to outlaw the union shop. Section 1-A of the measure which goes on the ballot in November under the designation of "Proposition 12" provides that: "Every person has the right to work, and to seek, obtain and hold employment, without interference with or impairment or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." If adopted, Proposition 12 will nullify every union shop contract and establish by law, the open shop and yellow dog contract.

The open shop drive in California follows the pattern established in a number of states which have adopted vicious anti-labor laws in the recent period. The union busting campaign is being vigorously pushed by reactionary and fascist elements liberally supplied with funds from the coffers of Big Busness. Writing in the July 31, 1943 issue of the **Nation**, Victor Riesel, labor commentator, showed that the drive against labor was being spearheaded by a group of native fascist swine parading under the name of the "Christian American Association."

CENTRAL DIRECTION

"The Christian American Association," wrote Victor Riesel, "some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored anti-labor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine. All these laws show signs of common authorship, and the similarity of the lobbying tactics that put them over indicates central direction."

The drive to break the unions in California is headed by Paul Shoup, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles and former head of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and is gathering momentum as the November election approaches. On July 15, the magazine *Business Week* was able to write: "A growing list of business firms and employer councils is joining organized labor in its fight on the measure. So with the voting four months away, Paul Shoup, 70-year-old president of the vigorously anti-union Merchants and Manufacturers Association, finds himself virtually alone in his advocacy of the amendment." Since that time an increasing number of employers' groups have come over to the support of the open shop drive.

To understand the early disagreement in the ranks of the employers, it is necessary to sketch briefly the background of labor relations in California. In the period prior to 1934 the Southern Pacific Railroad and its satellites ruled California with an iron hand. Through such employers' groups as the Merchant and Manufacturers Association, the San Francisco Industrial Association, the Associated Farmers, etc., California was maintained as an open shop preserve through the use of vigilante terror, the labor frame-up, police repression, including all forms of legal and illegal force and violence against the labor movement.

EVERY CRIME

The La Follette Committee investigating violations of civil liberties in California compiled volumes of evidence indicting the employers' groups for committing every crime in the calendar in their effort to maintain the open shop. Following the bloody waterfront strike in 1934 which culminated in the San Francisco general strike, the labor movement surged forward in a wave of militancy.

The old methods proved ineffective to halt the rising tide of labor organization. "The smarter elements," writes Carey McWilliams, (New Republic, October 3, 1943) **"realized that ruthlessness must be eliminated in favor of cunning, that slickness must replace brazenness, and that dizzily conducted public relations must take the place of the old knock-their-teeth-out attitude."**

The political build-up of Earl Warren, now Governor of California, was the work of the public relations experts of Big Business. Warren, a hard-boiled prosecuting attorney, had endeared himself to the industrialists by his strong arm tactics in dealing with labor. The frame-up and imprisonment of a number of waterfront union officials on a trumped up charge of murder was engineered by Warren. To groom him for his new role as a Liberal Statesman, writes McWilliams, "the mastermind of the new industrial alignment had to execute a skillful job of political face-lifting... But to those who know him, his performance is unconvincing. For to such people, he has always been as he is today, the personification of Smart Reaction."

BIG BUSINESS MACHINE

In California, McWilliams points out, the great shipping, financial, agricultural and industrial interests, "have long since been synchronized into what is perhaps the smoothest functioning 'big business' machine in the nation. It took a long and bitter behind-the-scenes struggle — as the files of the La Follette Committee eloquently attest — to make the 'die-hards' see the light of day. It was only after much persuasion that they were forced to give way to clever public-relations advisers, adroit industrial-relations counsellors and such astute legal minds as Gregory Harrison (of the Waterfront Employers' Association). For these die-hards were used to the ruthless methods of the Open Shop, the Red Squad and the Labor Frame-Up. They had grown bold and arrogant in the school of bribery, thuggery and the crudest variety of power-politics."

The division between the "Die-Hards" and "Smart Reaction" over the "Right to Work" amendment can only be understood against this background. With labor retreating before the onslaught of reaction since Pearl Harbor, and its hands tied by the unconditional no-strike pledge, the die-hards feel the time is ripe to press for a show-down now — on the theory that the unions can more easily be crushed while the war is in progress. The exponents of Smart Reaction contend that the best time to finish off the unions is when the war "ends" and mass unemployment has created a huge army of potential strikebreakers. The difference between the two is merely a matter of timing.

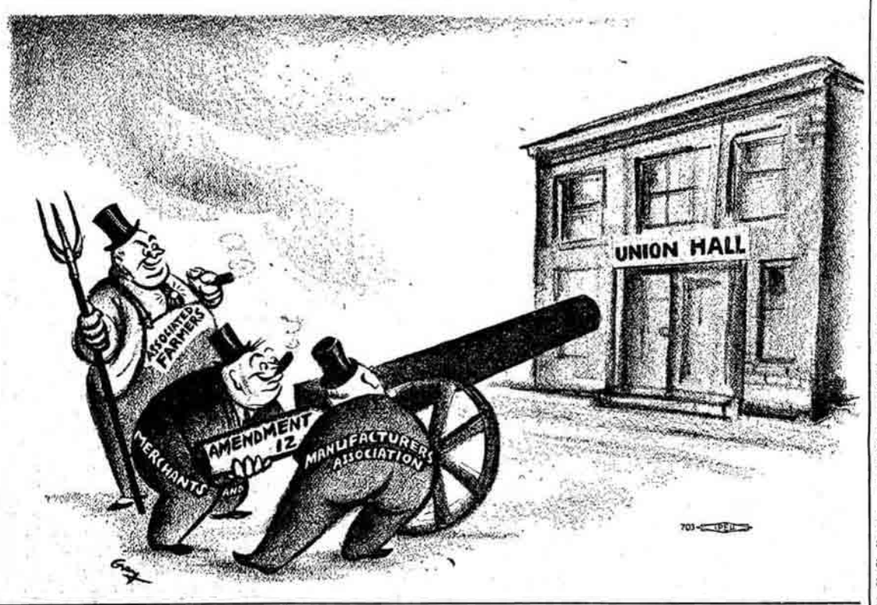
Thus, a writer for the N. Y. Times, September 17, in commenting on this difference of opinion between the employers, states: **"In some industries labor and management have threatened to start fighting again when the war ends, but critics of the 'open shop' amendment contend that is time enough. Mr. Shoup argues, however, that the time is ripe now to show the country that Californians 'favor the right to work without belonging to a labor union'." The same writer reports, however, that: "Mr. Shoup and his associates have been steadily winning support."**

As the war in Europe approaches a climax, the philosophy of the "die-hards" is gaining wider support in the ranks of the owning class. Even the case-hardened bureaucrats of the AFL have been compelled to issue a warning of the danger confronting the unions. In a Labor Day statement, AFL Vice-President, Matthew Woll, warned that: "Unless a united labor movement makes adequate preparations now for protection against the inevitable reactionary onslaught, labor in the post-war world will be a debased commodity, entirely vulnerable to the effects of unemployment, insecurity and industrial chaos."

To ward off the assault of Big Business the labor movement must be rallied in independent struggle on both the economic and political field. On the order of the day in California is the calling of a state-wide conference of all unions, regardless of affiliation, to draw up a program of action around which the ranks of organized labor can be mobilized against the open-shop union haters of both the "die-hard" and "smart reaction" variety.

The "die-hards" are not waiting for "after the war" to drive ahead with their plans to crush the unions. It would be suicidal for the unions to defer the organization of defensive measures until the "war ends." The time to act is NOW!

Union Busting in California



ONE MORE KING

By Gaetano Salvemini

[The following article by Gaetano Salvemini is reprinted from the September 1 issue of the British **Tribune**. Salvemini is a noted Italian anti-fascist. He is at present **Professor of History** at Harvard University.]

When Mussolini raped Albania, in April 1939, King Zog issued a proclamation summoning the Albanians to shed the last drop of their blood to fight the foreigner who violated the sacred soil of the fatherland, and ran away. Kings die in their own beds.

Lord Halifax, then British Foreign Minister, did not protest against Mussolini's crime. Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Anthony Eden's mentor, in 1926 had given Mussolini a free hand towards Albania. Mr. Anthony Eden in 1937, following in his mentor's wake, had again acknowledged Albania as a country within the Italian sphere of influence. Thus Mussolini, in the face of the British Foreign Office, was entitled to do what he did in April 1939. In the same way, as a result of the 1926 agreement with Sir Austen Chamberlain, he had done what he had done in Ethiopia in 1935 and 1936.

King Zog took refuge in England. The Negus of Ethiopia had done the same. The British Government kept them on ice. One never knows what will happen tomorrow. Mussolini's policies might come into conflict with British policies. Then both the Negus of Ethiopia and the King of Albania might be of some use. Moral principles are often obscured but never die as far as diplomats are concerned. Moral principles might revive either in Ethiopia or in Albania.

Revival of Moral Principles

Moral principles revived in Ethiopia in 1940. They are reviving in Albania nowadays.

From a correspondence to the **N. Y. Times** of July 21, we learn that in Albania "between April 1939, when the Italians occupied Albania, and last September, when the Badoglio armistice was signed, various resistance groups grew up and worked together. In September 1942, the National Liberation Movement, known as the L.N.C., was founded. The L.N.C. is pro-Allied, opposed to former King Zog and sympathetic to the idea of a Balkan Federation. Roughly speaking, it is the Albanian parallel to the Yugoslav Partisans and the Greek EAM.

If you are not a "realist," my dear man, you will guess that the British Foreign Office, to whose sphere of influence Albania now belongs, would help the L.N.C. as best they can. You are wrong, my dear man. Neither in Albania nor in any other country are we fighting any "ideological" war—that is a war in which the popular forces have to work out their own solution as best they can. This is a war to make Europe "safe for royalty." The British Tories need vassal kings in their sphere of influence. The more they are unpopular, the better. Unpopular kings are to rely upon foreign support, and who could give them a more loyal support than a British Government controlled by Tories? On the other hand, the greater the area under British influence, the more indispensable will be the Tory control in British domestic policies.

And why are these fools of Albanians dreaming of a Balkan Federation? A Balkan Federation would not agree blindly to obey the British Foreign Office and would tell them that they should mind their own business.

If the British Tories have to go on playing in Europe their game of the balance of power, the "natives" in Europe must have no peace. A second India has become necessary in Europe. Puppet kings surrounded by gangsters in the uniforms of army chiefs have to do the job.

That is why we gather from the **N. Y. Times** that last November there arose in Albania "a royalist legitimist movement calling for the return of King Zog," that "another Conservative organization, known as the National Front, strongly nationalist, opposes the idea of a Balkan Federation, and wants a great Albania, including part of Yugoslavia and Macedonia; and that the British Foreign Office in endeavouring to bring together the men who since 1939 have fought for their country and the "royalist legitimists" who have come to the fore to reap where the others have sown.

"It is hoped that some form of settlement can be arrived at that will end the critical situation still prevailing after an outbreak last week of active skirmishing between the patriot groups."

Pattern Is the Same

One does not need to be a prophet to foresee that one fine day the National Front will merge with the "legitimist royalist" groups under the wings of the British Tories.

The pattern is everywhere the same: helping discredited and powerless "legitimist royalist" groups to come to the fore, then with the help of Stalinist agents forcing republicans to come to terms with "royalist legitimates" and at the right moment disarming guerrillas, leaving only "royalist legitimists" with arms, and putting them into power.

No Balkan Federation, therefore. Kings are needed. A King of Albania between a King of Serbia and a King of Greece. And then a King of Bulgaria, a King of Rumania, a King of Hungary, Austria and Croatia (Otto of Habsburg), a King of Italy, a King of Spain. If the Comte de Paris had not been such an idiot as to join Petain in 1940, disappointing Mr. Churchill's love, there would still be a chance for him in France.

by C. Charles

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Election Campaign Shows Both Sides In Capitalist Camp

(Continued from page 1)

evelt, promises everything. Like an impetuous knight Dewey mounts his Elephant and dashes off in four different directions at the same time. Farmer and landlord, capitalist and worker, are classed as "equals and are equally important" and each shall get his due under Dewey's New Deal. This fantasy exceeds the claptrap of the Republican Party platform which, like that of the Democratic Party, is a masterpiece of evasion.

Authoritative spokesmen for the capitalist class are becoming disturbed at the obvious lack of any real differences between the program and policies of the Republican Tweedle-dee and the Democratic Tweedle-dum. The two party system, under which the capitalist class rules, fosters the illusion of a democratic choice between supposedly conflicting programs and policies. To bolster this illusion it is necessary to create the impression that a fight is in progress. Instead of which, the contenders have fallen into each others arms and are waltzing around to the strains of the old "New Deal" tune. **"The campaign thus far conducted by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in his quest for the Presidency," writes Arthur Krock in the N.Y. Times, September 22, "impresses a number of politicians here who wish him success as not sufficiently distinct from the Democratic position to attract the votes that must be transferred if there is to be a change**

The same day, a N. Y. Times editorial carries Mr. Krock's complaint even further when it says: "With his speech last night at San Francisco it seems to us that Mr. Dewey just about completed the process of running for the Presidency on the domestic platform of the New Deal. This process, of course, was pretty well under way before Mr. Dewey reached California, or even before he entrained for the West Coast. It began at Chicago, when the Republican party borrowed for its platform practically all of the New Deal's major legislative enactments of the last ten years."

The campaign has shown that both major parties are united on all fundamental questions. Even more, the traditional differences between them have become so dim that the line of demarcation between the two tends to become obliterated. What we are witnessing is not a real fight over political issues but a sham battle for the spoils of public office. **Since the war, both Republicans and Democrats have united in their advocacy of repressive labor measures and the scuttling of progressive social legislation. It was no less a person than Roosevelt himself who recently proclaimed the "New Deal" as dead and buried. The demagogic attempt byDewey to breathe Republican life into the corpse is nothing short of ludicrous.**

Thanks to the "labor statesmen" who limit labor's choice to the candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties, the capitalist class is assured that its program for the "post-war" period will be advanced by one or another of its political agencies. The lack of any visible differences between the program of the two capitalist parties should make it plain to all who have eyes to see that labor cannot defend its interests unless it advances its own program and enters the political arena under its own banner.

URW Convention Militants Oppose Bureaucracy

(Continued from page 1)

using the no-strike pledge to introduce intolerable working conditions into the plants. He knew that the soldiers in his family do not want to return to open shop conditions. Other delegates from the Akron area cited letters from soldiers denouncing the no-strike pledge. They declared that the duty of the union is to fight for democracy on the home front and maintain the conditions that many of those who were drafted had fought for in the past. George Bass, one of the leaders of the opposition, pointed out that to repeal the no-strike pledge is not the same as advocating immediate strike action. Other opposition delegates cited long lists of grievances that had piled up since the union gave up its strongest weapon against the employers.

They reminded the convention that when labor gave the no-strike pledge it had also received a pledge. Conditions of work and standards of living were to be maintained. That pledge has not been kept by the rubber barons and the government.

The vote "to reaffirm the no-strike pledge, without qualification or reservation," was carried by the same majority which the Dalrymple machine controlled throughout the convention, 782 to 375.

The administration slate of Dalrymple, Buckmaster, Lanning and ten additional members of the general executive board was re-elected by virtually the same vote. Dalrymple defeated George Bass for general president by a vote of 756 to 394.

As the convention voting revealed, the real center of the rubber industry — Akron — where the union was first built through militant strike action, now comprises hardly more than a third of the union's 150,000 members. The remaining two-thirds is scattered throughout the country. Through the appointed field organizers of the Dalrymple leadership, the votes of all the small, more backward locals were corralled behind the bureaucracy to weight the convention against the strategic and powerful Akron locals. By holding the convention in New York City away from the rank and file, these delegates from small plants and isolated communities were sheltered from the pressure of Akron's experienced and militant rubber workers.

The opposition has already achieved impressive gains by forcing the Dalrymple leadership to compromise on the issue of his bureaucratic expulsions and by organizing a third of the convention — and its most decisive and important third at that — behind a program of militant union action.

They now face the task of winning over the outlying and more backward locals behind their program. The struggle for a new militant leadership in the rubber union can only be carried on successfully by extending the fight on the basis of a clear-cut militant union program.

Capitalists Spew Slander Against German Masses

(Continued from page 1)

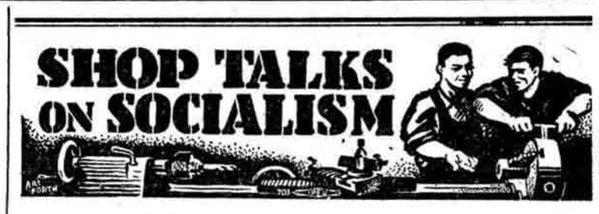
danger to the master class, a fascist in disguise.

The same kind of propaganda is dished out in this item in the N. Y. Times from Mexico City, August 31. The number of secret Columns, it seems, has been multiplied, so that it is now up to seven. "Germany is stated by Excelsior today to be planning the creation of what the newspaper terms a 'seventh column' charged with the task of rebuilding the Reich after the war. Excelsior said that this news reached Mexico through the diplomatic pouch from Ankara, Turkey, and it is contained in a confidential report." This is the usual style of a canard.

The Nazis, it seems, have sent large sums of money and jewels to neutral countries "as well as to enemy cities." This money is not for any personal use but to prepare for the future war after the present defeat. The clandestine agents abroad are told to support anti-German movements so as to establish a strong anti-Nazi force that will allay the suspicion of the allies and so be free to help Germany later. "These agents who are members of the Gestapo are sent abroad with instructions to use the line that the German people are not responsible for the war — only Hitler and his gang."

Here is revealed the real motive behind this propaganda. It is to discredit all those revolutionary fighters who will struggle for Socialism in Germany. The article becomes all the more pointed in this sense when it says: "The majority of these agents disguise themselves as political refugees." And with **false passports** at that! We know, of course, that almost every political refugee had to escape from the clutches of Hitler by desperate means, including the use of illegal passports. The Anglo-American imperialists fear the future influence of some of these political refugees. Their aim is everywhere to discredit, and if that is not possible, to wipe out the real revolutionists or even those who try to lead the working class independently.

This kind of propaganda will grow in volume as the situation becomes more critical. Reaction, whether in the outright imperialist form, or in the form of its Stalinist agents, will use every method of force and deceit to defeat the revolution. The workers must be forewarned in advance by the exposure of all forms of lying fraud.



By V. Grey

Scissorbill Sam has an uncle Sylvester, who works in accounting. And the other day Scissorbill was telling the boys what his uncle had to say about unions and such. The boys don't usually listen to the bosses' man, but a few were curious about the ideas of some of the walking mummies in the accounting department. So they listened. And here's what Scissorbill had to say.

"It ain't no use trying to get a raise—even if you do get it, the prices of everything go up anyhow. If you get a dime, the butcher and the baker hear about it and they shove their prices up a dime. My uncle Sylvester says that's what makes inflation—everybody getting raises like that—and before you know it you have to take your wages home in a wheelbarrow, and they won't buy you anything at all."

"My, my," said Slim, "then the company is just saving us money by not giving us a raise."

"That's right," chirped Scissorbill. "Inflation is a very bad thing. It would hurt the whole country. My uncle Sylvester says that he has inside information that the company wants to give us a raise. But they know it would only make trouble."

It would make trouble alright. It would make plenty of trouble among the stockholders, among the parasites who are living off us. They fight like hell, and always have, before they ever agree to a general raise. Whether times were good or bad—in peace or war—we never noticed them passing out general raises very freely. Was this because they were worrid about how inflation would hurt us? Or could it be they were thinking about how a lower profit would hurt them?—And say, if the butcher and the baker can raise their prices whenever you get a raise, why can't the boss raise the price of the product we're making just as easily? Because he can't just raise prices when he feels like it. If things were that simple for him the whole union movement would be just a mistake. And Scissorbill would be right. Or look at it another way. When times are getting tough the boss starts cutting wages. Can he still sell at the price he wants to? And will the storekeepers in town accomodate us by lowering the prices all the way down where we could reach them?

THING DON'T WORK THAT WAY

Things don't work out that way. If they did the chain stores wouldn't be putting thousands of small grocers out of business every year. If they did, U. S. Steel, Standard Oil and the other couldn't have forced so many smaller outfits to the wall and taken them over. If a boss who sells steel, or a grocer who sells bread, could always charge the public what he felt like charging, then wishes would be horses for fair, and capitalist beggars would ride them. Every little huckster would make a fortune.

No matter what wages the company pays to us who produce the things, they have to in the long run sell the product at its market price. And that is determined by how much over-all labor goes in to produce the goods. If they can sell below this price by making us work like hell and put out twice as fast, then they can make more profits than ever, because they will undersell some other capitalists and take away their business. Some capitalists can do this because they have bigger factories and more modern machinery. The workers in those factories may even be getting higher paid than in the factories where the company is selling at a higher price. And still the company making the low-priced article makes all kinds of profit, and the one making the higher priced often goes out of business.

So wages don't just automatically determine prices. A lot more things determine prices than just how much money there is floating around. And all this bogey-man talk about inflation being caused by a workingman's struggle for a decent living wage is disproven by the facts. Namely, that wages have risen 15 percent in three years, and the cost of living has risen 45 percent.

That's inflation all right. Your wages buy less than they bought before. But is it because you got a four and a half cent raise in 1942 that the price of clothing rose sky high in 1943? You know damned well it isn't, and that's why you want a raise now so you can afford to buy a decent suit and a winter coat for the wife.

These bloodsucking bosses create the basis for inflation right through their own wars. They do it in two ways. First by restricting civilian goods. And second by pumping more air into the dollar. The second way is a favorite, and the slickest trick for making the poor man pay for the rich man's war. The lack of goods is the main thing we see now. That's because most of our labor is being used to make things that will go up in smoke. And whose fault is that?

LARGER SHARE OF NATIONAL INCOME

When we ask for a raise we are asking for a cut of the bosses' profits. We are asking for a larger share of the national income, for a larger amount of the national wealth. If the raise is big enough it may enable some workers to buy homes. The company towns will lose income and power to that small, but real, extent. The bosses are reaping billions. They don't howl about their profits causing inflation. Oh no!

"But if you do get that raise the cost of living might go up some more," says Sam. Don't say "might," Scissorbill my boy—it will go up whether we get a raise or not. It's going up now, and will continue for a while under the drive of war scarcity—at least until there is another tremendous surplus that can't be sold and a new and worse depression arrives. The cost of living will be regulated —if you want to call it that—by the laws of the capitalist system as a whole—regardless of what wages we get.

Only under a socialist system can we make any real change, and get our full earnings in terms of bread, butter, automobiles, services and health protection. The profit system will be out. We'll look for better methods of production, all right. But only so we can have more of that production for ourselves, the working people. And if some plants are made out of date by this then we'll bring them up to date. We'll shorten our working hours because of the increased output. And our standard of living will be geared to be standard of production.

But in the meantime we'll struggle against their boss-made inflation by demanding wage increases to meet it. We'll demand a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Tune Changes

The official Army and Navy policy of separating the Negro soldiers and sailors into segregated units so that they can be given an extra-special kicking around is beginning to bear the only fruit that could be expected from such undemocratic action. From all over the country come indications that the brown boys in uniform are determined to win equal treatment.

Considering the extreme control that the brass hats maintain over the enlisted men, the odds that these boys face and the price they frequently have to pay for the smallest concessions they win are tremendous. Many of them, however, are disgruntled that the bigwigs of the NAACP, primarily a civilian organization, will not initiate mass action and, as a result, they have decided to take matters into their own hands. Apparently, they figure that they would rather die fighting for a cause that means something to them and those near to them than to give their lives in the imperialist war from which they obviously can hope to reap no benefits.

ALL-NEGRO JOB

Out on Yerba Buena island in San Francisco bay 50 Negro sailors are being tried in a mass court martial — the largest in Naval history — on a charge of mutiny, the maximum penalty for which is death. They belonged to the Jim Crow unit which had been assigned to the extremely dangerous task of loading the deadly naval ammunition. They had previously been fortunate enough to escape the fate of 300 of their buddies who were blasted into oblivion in the explosion which occurred at Port Chicago on July 17. **Although for some strange reason the fact is not to be found in the daily capitalist press, it so happens that this particularly lethal task is reserved for the all-Negro units of the U. S. Navy. According to the sailors' statements, it was this racial aspect of the job to which they objected.**

And how did they back up their objection? According to an official Naval statement around 300 walked off the job after the July explosion. After being given orders individually and threatened with penalties which might even mean death there were still 50 men who stood their ground. These are the 50 who are now standing trial.

"RACIAL SUPERIORITY"

At the same time, an event took place as if to bear mute witness for the men. At the time of the trial eight more Negro sailors were blown up and 47 were injured in another terrific blast at a Naval ammunition depot at Hastings, Nebraska. The explosion, although it did not reach the main part of the ammunition because of a protective barricade was still powerful enough, according to eyewitnesses, to blast a hole in the ground 550 feet long and 25 feet deep. Here, as in Port Chicago, the treacherous job of handling the heavy naval bombs and shells had been reserved for Roosevelt's "cullud section" of the U. S. Navy.

In the army, just as in the shops, the designation of Negroes for the dirtiest, lowest paid and most dangerous jobs regardless of individual merit and strictly on the basis of skin color is an application of precisely the same myth of "racial superiority" that the Nazis used in their rise to power. **This should convince the compromising Uncle Toms and the Caucasian "do-gooders" that,** as The Militant **has always contended, "concessions" based on the forced segregation of races have no basic meaning. This fact has become crystal clear to our sailors and soldiers although one might get an opposite impression from some of the "civic leaders" who accept segregation.**

That the brown boys in uniform are getting fed up with treatment as official "racial inferiors" is being reflected even in the heart of the reactionary South. According to a Washington Times Herald story which Secretary of War Stimson is busy trying to water down, 16,000 Negroes in ill-famed Camp Claiborne, La., mutinied, beat their officers, confiscated ammunition and attempted to settle some scores. After one officer and two enlisted men were injured, MP's regained control with the use of gas.

In Mobile, Ala. the brutal treatment by MP's at Brookley Field provoked a soldiers' uprising, as a result of which nine Negroes were court-martialed for mutiny. Their long prison sentences and dishonorable discharges were recently upheld by a board of review in Washington.

MILITANT ACTION

At Camp Cordon in Tallahasse, Fla. Lieutenants Belle, McCormick and Maddox after hearing of the so-called anti-discrimination order refused to move to the rear of an Army-owned bus when so ordered by the driver. When an MP found he could not arrest them because of their superior rank, civilian officers were summoned. With shotguns and pistols trained on them, they were taken to jail and booked for "inciting a riot." In the meantime, the Dixie bus driver who recently shot dead a Negro soldier in Durham, N. C. for refusing to get up and move to the rear Jim-Crow section, was pronounced innocent and freed by a jury which found it necessary to deliberate only 27 minutes.

It is plain to see that things are getting no better — they are getting worse. The Negroes in uniform are under military discipline. But how about our comfortably situated spokesmen here at home? They are militant in words only. They continue to restrict their protests to the verbal sphere. And even these harmless yappings are sandwiched in between patriotic boot-licking.

Negro soldiers and sailors are very bitter about Jim Crow. Are we willing to organize militant action to protest this discrimination? That is our only worthwhile weapon of protection. It is better to march now than have to run later.

Bridges' Program Endangers Union

(Continued from page 1)

they are able to take this position on account of the fact that the contracts that cover the work that have been signed on behalf of the labor contractors put a premium on doing work the slowest way."

BRIDGES EXPOSED

There is only one thing left out in this tearful confession by Bridges — the longshoremen are holding the short end of the stick in this bankrupt game of knuckling under in order to increase efficiency for the "war effort." Where did this program come from? "We devised (it)," Bridges boasted in 1942, "and pushed for its adoption." And to put it over, Bridges and com-

HARRY BRIDGES

pany "agreed to set aside any and all provisions of its (the union's) entire collective-bargaining agreement." Out of his own mouth Bridges is convicted of playing the shipowners game.

After wangling important concessions out of the longshoremen under the pretext of increasing efficiency, the shipowners were not slow in utilizing their advantages for the purpose of unleashing a new offensive against the union. In cooperation with the army and navy they created pools of so-called civil service workers up and down the coast. Speaking of this problem in San Francisco, the ILWU *Dispatcher*, Aug. 11, states:

"... while Local 6 (warehousemen) has a membership of 14,000 to 18,000, there are approximately 35,000 workers in the Bay Area doing warehouse work." And in the same issue "... there are 25,000 to 30,000 unorganized workers in this area."

MAJORITY UNORGANIZED

A little arithmetic reveals that from 17-21,000 unorganized are warehouse workers, and the rest, up to 13,000 are longshoremen. In both cases a majority of the workers in the industry are unorganized. These civil service workers receive up to 30 cents less per hour than organized workers and constitute a serious threat to the union's standards.

The Waterfront Employers Association, with the MIB at their disposal have utilized the reserve army of unorganized to hit the union a series of heavy wallops. In November they demanded that the MIB outlaw the payment of initiation and dues by new men coming into the industry. Paul Eliel, MIB chairman, followed with the proposal that recruitment of new longshoremen into the industry be taken out of the union's hands. The employers are poised for an attack on the union as soon as the army and navy give them the signal that the military situation no longer requires restraint and that the civil service pools are at their complete disposal.

The Bridges leadership is evading the real task of organizing the unorganized. They begged the MIB to establish a single labor pool based on the union hiring hall — in order to increase efficiency. The employers walked out of the meeting and Eliel, board chairman, ordered its minutes suppressed. Only militant action will organize these unorganized and the Bridges-Stalinist clique has no intention of risking a clash with the government-shipowners combination.

ANTI-UNION OFFENSIVE

In March 1944, 700 members of the union were fired at the Oakland Naval Depot, where they had been working under contract. Local 1-10 of San Francisco, in reply to this attack, began an organizing drive for all civil service workers (also known as dock seamen) in the following month. The army retaliated by firing 200 workers and moving in 1,400 war prisoners to do their work. In addition, on orders from superiors in Washington, D. C., it revoked the passes of union business agents permitting them access to the grounds. Labor advisor to the port commandant at San Francisco is none other than Louis Lapham of the Lapham shipping clan. Bridges reply to this anti-union barrage was merely to send another telegram — this time to Senator Truman requesting an investigation of the manpower situation on the west coast!

The benefits of the union wage scale constitute a powerful attractive force for the unorganized workers. But the failure of the Longshoremen's union to advance a militant program has resulted in disillusionment. Bridges and his clique have no intention of securing a union contract — they merely give lip-service to the need for organizing the unorganized. Here is the wording of a leaflet directed to these unorganized workers:

"As long as the workers are employed by the government no contract can be obtained by them. However, wage adjustments can be obtained through the medium of government board, and grievances can be taken up through government grievance machinery."

This theory of fighting the government through government boards is plain hog wash. Without a militant organization campaign that will lead to recognition of the union, the civil service workers will remain defenseless against army intimidation.

Bridges policy of kowtowing to Roosevelt forbids him to make any moves in this direction. A clash over this question would expose Bridges' lies that Roosevelt is "labor's best friend" in much the same manner that the miners strike did a year ago. The first principle of a Stalinist bureaucrat is to demonstrate his servility to the capitalist ally of Joseph Stalin. And this comes first, even if the workers must remain unorganized, even if conditions are to be driven down to the depths of the fink days, even if the union hall is to be undermined and destroyed.

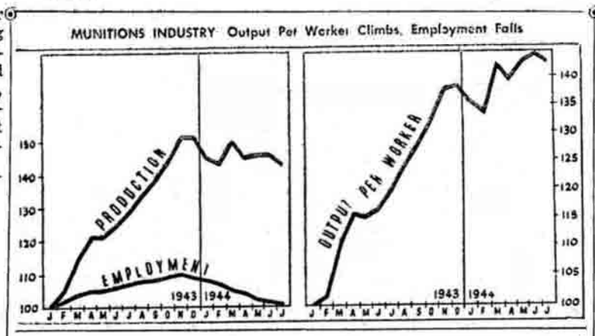
The unorganized can only be organized on the basis of a militant program and against the subservient policies of Bridges and Company.

Harry Bridges

In line with the declared Stalinist policy of permanent surrender to the bosses, Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's union, has incorporated for the first time in any union contract ever signed in America his notorious "security preamble" clause, agreeing not to strike for the duration of the war "and beyond."

This clause is contained in the contract being negotiated with the Pacific Coast waterfront employers. It has already been signed by five locals of the ILWU and the barge industry of San Francisco. Even **Business Week,** the weekly organ of Big Business, admits that "other CIO unions and the AFL view with horror" this treacherous blow at labor.

Bridges has become an all-out defender of capitalism, stating at the recent California CIO state convention that "capitalism is here to stay and I am tired of listening to these revolutionaries who refuse to see it." But he is not as tired as the workers are becoming of his dirty sell-out policies.



Average Labor Productivity Increased 26% During War

By Ruth Johnson

The productivity of the average American worker has increased 26 percent in the four years of war production, Chester Bowles, Price Administrator of the OPA, admitted last week, in an effort to counter the auto manufacturers' demands for tremendous post-war price increases on automobiles. The greater output per man-hour of work, not only reduces the manufacturers' costs, as Bowles points out, it also brings sharply before the American labor movement, the problem of ever-increasing "technological unemployment" resulting from greater efficiency.

According to **PM,** September 15, the auto barons are planning to jack-up prices 25 percent higher than 1942 prices. They base their demands chiefly on "high labor costs." These claims are spurious and refuted by all statistics. The average hourly increase in wages for all industrial workers, from October 1942 to November 1943, was only six-tenths of a penny, according to the **United Automobile Worker,** official organ of the UAW-CIO (November 1943). Bowles himself admits that hourly wage rates in the automobile industry went up only 4½ percent from 1942 to the present time.

The auto barons in their attempted gouge, cited the 9½ percent increase in auto workers' "take home" pay, which is based "on gross earnings, with overtime figured in." This is a deliberate fraud, since overtime pay will be a rarity in civilian production.

PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

The production techniques developed during the course of the war, have cut down the required labor, decreasing the unit cost of production. Bowles described some of these in his speech to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce: "The automobile industry and heavy industries will enter the post-war period with unbelievably more efficient machine tools. One such machine is reported to have cut production time on a given unit from 90 hours to 2 hours, 20 minutes. Another new machine replaces 17 pieces of equipment formerly required for all operations in drilling, machining, and finishing a casting. It has cut costs from $3.88 to 22 cents per casting."

Similar changes have taken place in all of American production. The CIO News of January 31, 1944, pointed out that the average output per worker leaped from 158 to 207 units, or 33 percent, between 1938 and 1943!

These figures on increasing productivity can only mean to the workers, under the capitalist system of production for profit, ever-growing lines of unemployed men and women, unable to buy the ever-growing piles of goods which will become "surpluses." They portend a new depression, more devastating than the last.

Under the "free enterprise" system, the capitalists reap the full benefits of all technological advancements. The workers reap unemployment. A great proportion of these new, improved tools and machines were paid for by the people; one quarter of the war plants have been paid for out of the taxes of the people.

The only way labor can defeat the nefarious schemes of the auto barons and the rest of the American industrialists, the only way it can reap the benefits of improvements in technology and guarantee full employment, is to fight for the nationalization of all industry under workers' control.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

There's a lot of grimness in a worker's sense of humor. There has to be, or rather, he has to have a sense of humor to be able to live the kind of life that he lives; and that humor is bound to be somewhat grim. He laughs at a fellow worker who has just had a narrow escape from death or serious injury: "When that gate exploded, he was going away so fast his coat tail was standing straight out." He laughs at himself after an intolerable day in the heat: "My shoes were burning up, and I was wet like I'd been out in that lake. I thought they'd have to take me out of that runner with the crane."

A devil-may-care grin on his dirty face, a laugh in his throat . . . and deep anger in his heart. It would almost seem that the worker, the average worker, understood clearly, "This isn't the time just yet. The time is coming when all the wrongs and injustices of our life will be righted, the time when we will rise up and right them. But until we do, we'll make the best of a bad situation and get a few laughs out of it."

The reason why I'm writing these things is this: One of the fellows showed me a verse he had with him today. It was the words for a song to the tune of "The Old Apple Tree." I thought it showed some of the things a furnace man has to put up with. Here's the song:

O my poor pappy worked in a steel plant
On a furnace making iron out of ore;
And each day he'd sweat and smoulder
As he rapidly grew older
In that steel mill on the Great Lakes' smoky shore.

O he worked in the midst of the fire,
In the midst of the molten metal's glare.
And he coughed and choked and cussed
As his lungs filled up with dust,
But the sulphur gas was more than he could bear.

Then one day as he worked on the furnace
In that steel mill on the Great Lakes' smoky shore,
With a misstep that was fatal,
He fell into a ladle,
And now my poor, dear pappy is no more.

So the steel plant sent a man to see my mammy:
"Now we're sorry," he said, "sorry as can be.
Please accept this check of money
To make up for your honey—
Five hundred dollars worth of sympathy!"

And now it's my turn to work on the furnace
With my dear, departed pappy's old crowd.
So each day I work and wait till
I'll wind up in a ladle
And join my pappy in an iron shroud.

That gives you an idea of some phases of a steelworker's life, and I think it shows also the attitude that we tend to take. It reminds me of one of the standard stories the fellows tell.

"Oh, it's not so bad now as it used to be," they say. "Why, twenty years ago when I came here to work, the man at the gate told me, 'Well we haven't got any jobs right now, but you just wait here a while, and when somebody gets killed, you can have his job.' So I waited about twenty minutes until they carried some guy out in a wagon, and then they sent me in to work."

But don't get the idea that since these workers laugh at the pain and peril of their work they feel no other emotion. Some of these things they laugh at aren't at all funny. The only way I can explain it is that the anger rises up in their throats and pushes the laughter out. But, as I said, that's only temporary. The resentment and wrath of the workers is smouldering beneath the surface and building up the pressure that will shatter the shell that now holds it in.

Some day our laughter will have a lighter ring.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 29, 1934

NEW YORK—"The great general strike of the textile workers," wrote James P. Cannon in **The Militant** . . . "has come to an inglorious end . . . defeated and shamefully betrayed by the leadership of the United Textile Workers and the upper crust of the AFL." The leadership refused to call for financial support of the strike and signed the proposal of Roosevelt's henchman Winant. The proposal, beginning with a demand for immediate ending of the strike, declared "national settlement is not feasible," recommended acceptance of "local mill agreements," and the setting up of committees by the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Labor, to "investigate wages." Not a single demand of the workers was granted!

Pointing to the need for a new kind of union leadership, Cannon continued, "Forces for a mighty left wing and progressive movement in the trade unions is not lacking. The crisis years have created the conditions for its emergence. . . What is lacking is a conscious unifying and guiding nucleus. . ."

Describing the treacherous role of the Stalinists, and the helpless floundering of the milk-and-water Socialist Party reformists, Cannon pointed out that neither group could provide the leadership needed by the workers. **"The workers need a new revolutionary party," Cannon said.**

SAN FRANCISCO—On the very heels of the textile sellout, the American Federation of Labor leaders prepared to fight down the growing progressive movement at its fifty-fourth annual convention, scheduled to meet in San Francisco October 1. The convention faced the tremendous problem of organizing millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who, flocking to the trade union movement under the impetus of the stormy strikes of the NRA (National Recovery Act) period, had no place in the outworn scheme of craft unionism.

NEW YORK—Sponsored by the Young Peoples Socialist League, a united front conference of youth against fascism was held on September 25. Organizations invited were the Young Communist League, the National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartakus Youth League. **Refusing to participate in the conference, the Stalinist YCL and NSL instead launched attacks upon the Lovestoneite CYO and Trotskyist SYL.**

Pioneer Paragraphs

FASCISM ARISES FROM DECAY OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The whole basis of Fascism arises out of the decomposition and decay of capitalism. In a period of social crisis, where millions are unemployed and hungry, great sections of the population seek a leadership which will show them a way out of the blind alley of capitalism. **All the normal, middle-of-the-road parties of capitalism tend to disintegrate. The workers' parties which stand on the program of the abolition of capitalism and espouse a socialist program experience a stormy growth.**

The capitalists attempt to utilize the very misery of the masses and their revolutionary aspirations for a decisive change, to create a mass movement of the middle classes, and employ it as a praetorian guard to crush the rising labor movement and to impose a new bloody dictatorship over the people.

The Fascist movements of Italy and Germany gained mass support by demagogically adopting whole sections of the Socialist program. They proceeded to organize into private armies the unemployed youth, the despairing war veterans, etc. and used them as a battering ram against the labor movement. It is, however, deliberately organized, financed and controlled by the big capitalists.

It is not this or that "bad" capitalist who turns to Fascism. In the period of great social crisis when the capitalist class can no longer rule under traditional, semi-democratic forms, the decisive section of the capitalist class throws its weight behind the Fascist movement and lifts up its "man on horseback," in a desperate attempt to save its rule. So it was in Italy in 1922. So it was in Germany in 1933. The United States will face the same danger in the future, when this country is confronted with the unsolvable social crisis of capitalism.

(From E. R. Frank's Introduction to "Fascism—What It Is—How To Fight It," by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 48 pp., 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

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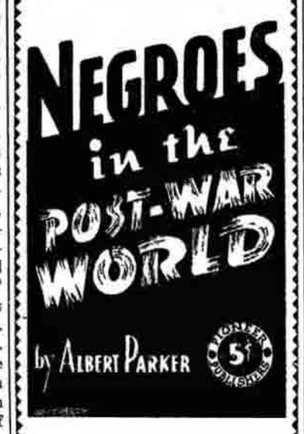

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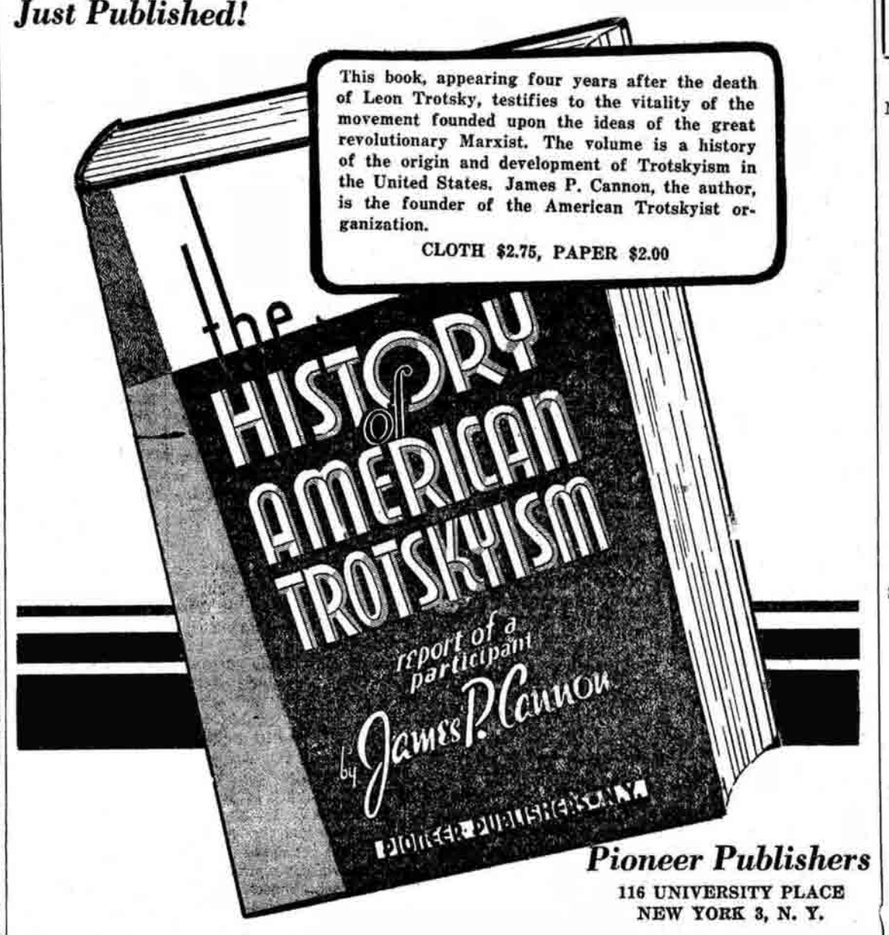

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Plans For Germany

"Woe to the conquered!" This cry of the bloodthirsty and ravenous conquerors of old has become the guiding line of Anglo-American policy toward Germany. Washington and London are giving advance notice that they intend to inflict the most savage and vindictive terms upon the defeated German people.

General Eisenhower announced that until a joint administration is set up in Berlin, the Allied Military Government will control the sections of Germany occupied by the Anglo-American armies. It is reported that British and American High Commissioners are to rule western and southern Germany, while a Soviet Commissioner will rule the eastern portion. The Allied propagandists are already insisting that these occupying forces must remain in Germany for ten, twenty, and even a hundred years.

The press has published reports of proposals supposed to have been submitted to the Roosevelt-Churchill conference at Quebec by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau which envisage the total destruction of German economy: the stripping of all industrial equipment from Germany's manufacturing areas, the withholding of all economic aid to German industry, the transformation of Germany into an agricultural country of small farms.

This program of ruthlessness, oppression and destruction, if put into effect, would doom not only tens of millions of German masses to annihilation, slavery and starvation, but would deal the most terrible blow to the peoples of the entire European continent. For Germany and its industry are the heart of European economy.

The majority of the American people do not support these criminal plans of the imperialists. This is indicated by the results of a poll recently conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. 56 percent of those questioned whether the Germans should be allowed free choice of their own government answered in the affirmative.

The advanced American workers now have the duty to expose and fight against Wall Street's conspiracy to strangle the rising revolution of the German masses and to doom the German and therefore the European peoples to ruination and slavery.

CIO-PAC

Ever since its formation, the CIO Political Action Committee has been badgered and baited by the political deputies of wealth and privilege in Congress for alleged violations of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act as amended by the Smith-Connally Act and the Hatch Act which forbid organizations to make contributions above $5,000 in connection with campaigns for nomination or election of candidates for Federal office. These measures were specifically designed to hinder labor's participation in politics as an independent force

While these laws are ostensibly aimed at all organization and individual contributions the moneybags find no difficulty in getting around them. Thus, in the 1940 election campaign, the Pew, Rockefeller, Queeny, Sloan and duPont families contributed $432,680 to elect Willkie. In many cases America's Sixty Families contribute large sums to both capitalist candidates and parties. The device used is to make substantial contributions in the name of each individual member of the family—including the baby in the crib. Another device developed by the plutocrats is to make contributions to "non-political" political organizations which use such funds to disseminate propaganda in support of their candidates in election campaigns.

One of the more prominent of these "non-political" organizations is the so-called Committee for Constitutional Government. It was founded by Frank E. Gannett, wealthy head of a chain of newspapers which have consistently championed the cause of the rich. Gannett's organization is a favored pipeline through which the Wall Street tycoons swell the slush fund of their chosen candidate Both major parties benefit from such devices. Through the medium of "family" contributions and "non-political" organizations the financial pot of both capitalist parties is filled to the brim. The laws on campaign expenditures are therefore aimed solely towards crippling the independent political activity of labor whose strength lies in its organized numbers. It is precisely the fear of such independent political action by labor which motivated the adoption of these restrictive laws.

This haunting fear is expressed in the attempt to harass the CIO Political Action Committee even though its leaders disclaim any thought of aiding or encouraging any "third party" movement. But despite the disclaimer of the labor bureaucrats, the political bosses see within the CIO-PAC the seed of labor's independent political action which, under the impact of a severe crisis, will flower into labor's independent political party. It is against this danger that the plutocrats seek to erect a barrier of obstructionist laws.

American Legion

The American Legion at its annual convention held in Chicago last week made extensive plans to recruit the veterans of the Second World War. It has announced that thousands of ex-servicemen are already joining each month and the Legion hopes to triple its present membership of 1,300,000.

The Legion is pushing its organizing campaign by claiming credit for the passage of the "GI Bill of Rights" and by appearing as chief spokesmen for the veterans before the administrator of Veterans Affairs, Congress and the public. Its drive has been endorsed by the Democratic and Republican Parties whose Vice-Presidential candidates addressed its initial session, by Army and Navy brass hats, by Big Business.

Although pretending to be non-political, the American Legion, from its very birth, has been an utterly reactionary instrument utilized by Big Business to crush organized labor and to stamp out all progressive ideas and movements. It was organized by bankers, business men and high-ranking military officers after the last war in the hope that it would corral the veterans to fight against the "menace of radicalism." Since that time its leadership has backed repressive legislation of all kinds, has permitted the use of Legion posts by employers to break strikes, has approved and encouraged actions of Legion posts in denying free speech and free assembly to working class political parties, and has condoned vigilante acts of violence by Legionnaires.

The Legion aims to utilize the veterans of this war in the same manner and for the same purpose: to convert the veterans' anger against capitalist insecurity and hunger into hatred of the labor unions, to organize the rank and file veterans into vigilante gangs to beat down and destroy the labor movement. Said National Commander Alvin Owsley in 1923: "Do not forget that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

These plans represent a terrible threat to American labor. The American Legion conspiracy must not proceed unchallenged. To protect the welfare of the returning servicemen and the men in the armed forces, and for its own self-preservation, the labor movement must take the initiative in becoming the leading spokesman for the veterans.

The CIO United Automobile Workers took a step in the right direction by holding a joint Labor-Servicemen's Conference in Washington several months ago. But the CIO has done nothing since to build upon this foundation. The labor movement must take the initiative to organize the veterans for joint struggle for jobs, full employment and security. It cannot, it must not permit the labor-hating American Legion to become the spokesman of the returning veterans.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Negro Sailors

Editor:

Fifty Negro sailors here who protested against Navy segregation and discrimination are now facing court martial. They are being charged with mutiny for refusing to obey orders to load ammunition at the Mare Island Navy yard in San Francisco Bay.

These men had protested against the Navy policy of unloading most of the menial, difficult and dangerous work on the segregated Negro units. Both the army and navy in this area use Negroes predominantly in "labor battalions," to load ships and do the other heavy work. Safety conditions are sacrificed for the sake of speed; crews are pitted against each other and are offered special inducements, like extra leaves, to meet exorbitant schedule.

The men on trial had been among the units that suffered in the Port Chicago explosion in July, when 327, mostly Negroes, were killed. Some of them had recently left hospitals where they had been recuperating from explosion injuries. Other had been in the details assigned to "cleaning up" after the explosion.

The repressed resentment of these Negro sailors boiled to the surface on August 9, when 257 men were ordered to work ammunition on a ship at Mare Island. They refused. After repeated musterings and threats, 200 finally accepted the order. The remaining 50 remained firm. According to the testimony at the trial, which began September 15, they were "courteous but firm," declaring their willingness to accept any assignment at sea or other duty, except working ammunition.

The Navy officials, whose sole concern is "to maintain discipline and authority," brought court martial proceedings, under which the men, if convicted, face severe penalties, up to and including the death sentence.

The far deeper aspects of the case are thrusting themselves forward, despite attempts of the officials to confine the issue to the sole point of "discipline." The Negro communities and press have pointed to the basic issue—discrimination. Joseph James, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, expressed the feelings of the Negro community, when he declared: "The Negro people are well aware of the pattern of discrimination practiced in the navy and they are very much concerned about this trial. I feel that a general thorough investigation of the navy policies which led up to this thing should be made at once."

R. J.
San Francisco

Red Vienna

Editor:

The Swedish paper "Aftontidningen" published recently the following account of conditions in Austria, reported by one who has recently returned from there:

"Red Vienna is redder than ever. In the streets workers demonstrate without fear their sympathy for the Russian and Ukrainian workers going barefoot and in rags.

"The younger workers' organization does not want to get back the old leaders who have emigrated. The times of Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch (Austrian Social democratic leaders) are regarded, like the days of Francis Joseph, as ancient history. They want new leaders from their own ranks with a more strongly anti-capitalist radicalism after the war. They declare enthusiastically that they do not intend to work for Anglo-American capitalists but desire to collaborate with the progressive elements in the Allied countries. . . Austrian youth is showing greater independence and eagerness for revolt than its German counterpart. The overwhelming majority of students are anti-National Socialist and the universities are hotbeds of opposition."

A Reader
New York

We Remember Trotsky

Editor:

. . . It was really for my friends that I was getting **The Militant.** It was passed around until it was threadbare! As for myself, it did not make any difference because I know the score, and knew the score years ago. I am disappointed that I cannot continue to receive it, but that cannot be helped. However, I wish you every success for the future.

I know you are right. You tell the truth. A great many people like myself are growing too old to be much use to the labor armada; when we pass the 40-year mark, some of us get set in our ways. So it's up to the younger generation to carry the heaviest part of the load.

We older ones remember Leon Trotsky and his works. A great many, like myself, studied his teachings and discussed them on the street corners and on the job, sometimes meeting violent opposition. That man is gone, but his spirit goes marching on, and that spirit is more powerful today than yesterday. Long after this generation is forgotten, his name will be spoken of by millions as one of the greatest scientists and leaders who ever lived.

J. R.

UAW Convention

Editor:

I would like to correct a factual error which crept into the story on the UAW convention, September 16. The error is not a fundamental one, but I believe it should be corrected nevertheless.

In the section of the article headed "Companies and Thomas Against Militants," in the paragraph dealing with the flurry of strike action at the time of the Ford Aircraft incident, the following statement appears: "The top leadership in every case drove the workers back into the plants without any settlements and with outstanding militants left out on the streets."

This statement as it appeared is incorrect. This has been the fate of the large majority of the sporadic strike struggles of the workers in the past period, but there have been some exceptions.

While virtually without exception these strike struggles have failed to win settlement of the issues involved, there have been a number of strikes which have not resulted in the victimization of the militants involved. Examples are the strikes at Briggs, Motor Products and Ford Windsor. While these examples in no way invalidate the theme of the article, I believe it would be well to make this correction.

E. Henry
Detroit

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GERMANY

The pattern of Allied military occupation of Germany was outlined September 18 in a proclamation by General Eisenhower, in his capacities as Supreme Allied Commander in Western Europe and Military Governor of occupied German territory.

Allied Military Government was formally established and in it was vested "the supreme legislative, judicial and executive authority." The proclamation went on to state that "the immediate task of the Allied Military Government during the course of military operations will be to secure the lines of communications of the Allied armies and to suppress any activities in the occupied areas of Germany that would impair the speedy conclusion of the war."

In the light of what has happened, and is still happening in Italy, the fate of the German people under AMG can be pictured. The AMG in Italy disarmed the partisan forces who had fought against the Fascists and the Nazis and gave protection to the Fascist scum. It kept numerous Fascists in office and prevented the masses from making a clean sweep of the remnants of the old regime. While black marketeers thrive, the masses hunger and die. A monarchist police-military dictatorship rules as the servile puppet of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Eisenhower's proclamation sets as a concurrent aim to that of 'securing communications' in Germany, "the task of destroying National Socialism. It (AMG) will remove from responsible posts all members of the Nazi party and of the SS (Elite Guard) and others who have played a leading part in the National Socialist regime."

And what about the thousands of Nazi functionaries who do not play a "leading" part in the regime? They will be let alone, as in Italy. And when the German workers move to settle scores with them, as the Italian workers did with the Fascist gangsters, AMG will try to disarm and stultify them — again as in Italy — under the pretext that such activity "would impair the speedy conclusion of the war." All this is part and parcel of a set program, worked out by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, for preventing the German masses from taking matters into their own hands and molding their own future.

It is not by chance that Roosevelt has selected Robert D. Murphy as political adviser to General Eisenhower and the Allied forces of occupation in Germany. Murphy is the man who, in the campaign to "liberate" French North Africa, chose the Vichy-Fascist Admiral Darlan and the Royalist General Giraud as the tools of the Allied policy. Roosevelt intends to deal with the Nazis just as he dealt with these Vichy collaborationists and as he later dealt with Badoglio and the House of Savoy. They will be his agents and counsellors in the dirty job of aborting, and if need be suppressing, the German revolution.

FRANCE

Reports from Paris indicate clearly the existence of an incipient dual political power to that formally exercised by the de Gaullists through the Consultative Assembly which originally was set up in Algiers. This dual power is represented by elements comprising the National Council of Resistance (Maquis, partisans) and workers' committees which have taken over control of factories.

The Council, which is largely dominated by the social-democrats and Stalinists, is represented in the government of the Consultative Assembly but, as a N.Y. *Times* dispatch states, claims "a kind of veto power over the members of the Assembly chosen by political parties or groups," thus forming "a body that supports and is represented in the Government, yet is independent of both the Government an the Assembly. It is a political force whose future seems uncertain but that is not yet willing to abdicate." The Stalinists and social-democratic traitors, it is clear, are not able to go the whole hog in their policy of collaboration with the capitalist regime of de Gaulle because of the tremendous pressure of the masses.

An active leader of the Resistance Movement, which fought the Nazis and now is busy cleaning up their French collaborators, told a great cheering crowd in the Paris Salle Pleyel on September 17: "We have not yet the guarantee that the will of the people will always be respected. We must have a planned economy. The people, freed of their masters, the trusts, must rule. We must have vengeance against traitors. We are not satisfied with a few arrests." Another speaker declared that the Resistance Movement "will oppose all those who try to prevent the revolution in economic and social life."

"The local authorities today are the resistance groups, who were ruling in France in reality even when the Germans were here," states another Paris dispatch to the *N. Y. Times*. From the same source we learn that the resistance groups are exercising the power of veto over jurors chosen to try traitors and collaborationists. At the same time, under pressure of their following, the Stalinists on the Paris Committee of Liberation, which is provisionally the Municipal Council, have proposed "the creation of a militia to watch the progress of the purge, with the right to enter dwellings to make arrests."

The French masses, it is obvious, are anti-capitalist and are determined to make a clean sweep of the old rotten social order. With profound distrust of the capitalist politicians and of Allied promises of liberation, they are placing chief reliance on their own organizations, their own weapons. The beginnings of the dual revolutionary power are apparent. The great need is to develop, extend and consolidate this independent mass activity and to build a revolutionary party which can give to the movement a clear goal and program — the Socialist Revolution.

Wages Drop, But Profits Continue to Soar Upward

"Coming events cast their shadow before," goes the old saying. What the workers and the capitalists respectively can anticipate in the coming period of "reconversion" is forecast in the recent survey of Investors' Syndicate on the distribution of national income and buying power.

Investors' Syndicate, comparing the real income of various classes in August 1944 with the same month a year ago, states that "as a whole" the national income has maintained the same level as in 1943. This "as a whole" covers some important class exceptions, as the report further reveals.

The chief exception is wages, where a decline is recorded. "Wage earners' envelopes in July 1944 contained 98 cents, compared with $1 in July 1943, the decline reflecting war contract terminations and consequent reductions in hours of work and lessened overtime pay."

The decline in workers' earnings, however, was offset by the increased profits and "earnings" of the corporation owners and coupon clippers. "Investors' income was $1.08, compared with $1 in July, 1943," Investors' Syndicate states. "Dividend and interest distributions during the first half of 1944 was $1.04, against $1 in the same 1943 period. Other income, which includes farmers' earnings, profits from unincorporated businesses and royalties was $1.07, compared with $1 in July 1943. Other income in the first half of 1944 was $1.12, against $1 in the corresponding 1943 period."

British Masses Resist Jim-Crow Indoctrination

White brass-hats and backward American soldiers are attempting to introduce Jim-Crow practices against American Negro troops in England. The British people, however, are demonstratively opposing the effort, according to the illuminating account of Roi Ottley, noted American Negro author, in the New York daily, PM.

Ottley, who gives a wealth of factual detail, describes the "noose of prejudice. . . slowly tightening around the necks of the American Negro soldiers . . . tending to cut off their recreation and association with the British people."

Contrary to the treatment accorded Negroes in America, the British people received the Negroes with genuine hospitality. "To put it in the language of a Negro soldier, 'I'm treated so, a man don't know he's colored until he looks in the mirror'."

"Negroes were invited to British homes, churches, and trade union meetings. Easy and friendly associations developed between the races."

But backward white American troops, inspired by their officers, are "attempting to discipline the British people." "Strong-arm" methods have been introduced; Negro passes are restricted and proprietors of bars, restaurants and other public places are told to exclude Negroes or be boycotted.

Bitter fights have broken out between Negro and white troops in many billet areas. "This distressing racial situation must be laid squarely on the door step of white officers." Although there are formal regulations against discriminatory practices, "some of them (officers) never bother to read the instructions." An RAF flier told Ottley that at an indoctrination course addressed by an American lieutenant, the lecture consisted of an "explanation" of why British white troops should not associate with Negro Americans.

The British, particularly the workers, are resisting this Jim-Crow indoctrination. After an armed clash at Leicester between white and Negro soldiers, signs appeared on bars and restaurants, "For British Civilians and U.S.A. Negro Forces Only."

When two Negro soldiers were court-martialed and sentenced to death for alleged rape in Gloucestershire, 33,000 workers protested to the American authorities, charging the Negroes were sentenced because of their color. Workers in a large local factory went on protest strike.

UAW-CIO Hits Anti-Labor Discrimination On Radio

"As free as the air" is good poetic imagery but it's fast losing reality in fact, particularly where control of the air for broadcasting purposes is concerned. Some facts of the anti-labor policies of the big broadcasting concerns and associations were recently brought to light through the protests of the CIO United Automobile Workers against discrimination and censorship practiced by Station WHKC, Columbus, Ohio.

Union officials, at a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission, charged the station management with discrimination against labor organizations in the allocation of time, and further charged arbitrary censorship of the UAW scripts.

In the course of the hearings, the WHKC management admitted that it discriminated against labor, but alleged that it was forced to do so as a member of the National Association of Broadcasters, under which some 600 local stations operate. The NAB code prohibits the sale of time for the discussion of "controversial issues," the definition being left up to the NAB itself.

The code does permit allocation of free time, on an equal basis, for the presentation of opposing views on "controversial issues." But in practice, the views of Big Business and anti-labor commentators are broadcast as "non-controversial." Thus, it was pointed out at the FCC hearings, the NAB gave free time to the National Association of Manufacturers for a series of 13 broadcasts on "The Businessman Looks at the Future," presenting the "post-war" schemes of Wall Street, while refusing time to the UAW and other labor organizations to present union views on the "post war" world. **NAB stations last year were instructed to refuse to sell time to the UAW to discuss the question of price subsidies.**